Money of the Caribbean

EDITED BY

Richard G. Doty
and John M. Kleeberg

Coinage of the Americas Conference
at The American Numismatic Society, New York

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Errata:

Page

270 line 6	(★)	not	(Q)
273 line 5	(★)	not	(Q)
281 line 3a	UNC	not	unconfirmed
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Preface

Caribbean coinage was the subject of the sixteenth Coinage of the Americas Conference, sponsored annually by the American Numismatic Society. Since its inception, this program has enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the Society's governing Council as a forum for the dissemination of emerging research in the coinage and currency of the Americas.

The purpose of these conferences is to facilitate the exchange of information. Toward this end, experts in the subject are invited to deliver papers, collectors are invited to exhibit, and notice of the conference is circulated widely to encourage attendance by all who have an interest in the topic. The Society also mounts an exhibition from its holdings and invites registrants traveling to the New York area to come to know the Society's collections and library better during the days surrounding the conference.

The conference on Caribbean coinage coincided with the New York International Coin Show in December 1999, held in the mezzanine of 1 World Trade Center. For the convenience of the attendees, the COAC was held in the adjoining Marriott World Trade Center, at No. 3 World Trade Center. Since the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 these buildings no longer exist.

Contributors

The Society is grateful to the following contributors who helped make the 1999 Coinage of the Americas Conference possible:

F. Gordon Frost
Jay M. Galst
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Introduction

From the early smuggling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, up through the establishment of modern offshore financial centers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the Caribbean has been a major center of commercial interchange in the Americas. In the eighteenth century the sugar islands were among the wealthiest areas of the world. Although Caribbean cut and counterstamped coinage is plagued with numerous forgeries, many excellent numismatists have applied themselves to this series, which provides good guidance for the researcher. Fred Pridmore did a very fine catalogue that is the starting point for all later research; Ralph Gordon's work on the gold coinage is superb, and we all regret that Gordon died with his silver volume uncompleted. It has been the good fortune of Caribbean numismatics that the islands included colonies of Sweden and Denmark, for that attracted the attention of Frank Olrog and Jørgen Sømod to the issues of St. Barthélémy and the Danish Virgin Islands. The Caribbean provides a mirror that helps solve some of the most difficult problems in other North American series. The outstanding example of this is the regulated gold coins of North America, which were traditionally ascribed to the Caribbean, because they are plugged and countermarked. Ralph Gordon's careful study of Caribbean gold coinage was able to distinguish these coins from the actual Caribbean issues. These are regulated pieces, especially those counterstamped by Ephraim Brasher and John Bailey, are now increasingly accepted as part of the US Colonial series.

One coinage that has long been accepted as part of both the US colonial and the Caribbean series is the hogge money of the Somers Islands (Bermuda). Mark Sportack's paper brings an extraordinary amount of fresh material to this area study, including a new die variety.

This particular volume provides a nice counter-balance to Pridmore's emphasis on the British islands; the emphasis is on the two largest of the

islands, Cuba and Hispaniola. My contribution concerns the Santo Domingo 10 reales, which is the first silver crown struck in the Americas. This issue has been clouded in mystery because the last reported genuine examples were the two in the VQR catalogue of 1892, and those coins have not been seen since. John Lorenzo and Emilio Ortiz discuss some more recent Cuban issues. Lorenzo's discussion of the Cuban key counterstamps led to some lively debate at the conference, with some doubting whether the counterstamps were Cuban at all. Ortiz discusses the "Souvenir" pesos of 1897 and 1898, and concludes that they are not medals, but coins.

I had the pleasure of meeting Ralph Gordon several times before his death, and on his last visit to the American Numismatic Society he was concerned with what Pridmore thought was the "pineapple" countermark of Barbados. The animal and vegetable kingdoms were ransacked to come up with alternative suggestions: a lobster? A crayfish? Gordon told me, "I think it is a fog." "A fog? It doesn't look like a fog to me." "Well, how would you draw a fog?" I had to admit that although it did not look like a fog to me, fogs are such indeterminate objects that I could not argue that it was not a fog, either. Gordon was going to argue that because it was a fog the coinage should be attributed to a land with many fogs, namely the Canadian Maritimes.

Gordon's argument was very ingenious, but anyone who has listened to F. Carl Braun's attribution of this countermark will be convinced by Braun's arguments. I thought it was one of the most elegant numismatic proofs ever when I first heard it in Berlin at the International Numismatic Congress, and I thought so even more when I heard it again in New York. Since part of the enjoyment of his article depends on the element of surprise, I shall say no more.

That Gordon's argument had an element of plausibility is shown by Chris Faulkner's contribution on the extensive commercial interaction between the Canadian Maritimes and the Caribbean, which in part explains why both areas issued holey dollars.

The Caribbean has always been an area of great ethnic diversity. This is brought out by Robert Leonard's work on tokens issued by Jewish merchants. Working with Leonard taught me much about the strength of the ANS collection of Caribbean tokens, for often we were able to illustrate his talk with slides of the actual pieces, all of which are quite rare.

The Caribbean cabinet is one of the great strengths of the ANS collection. This made it particularly important for the ANS to sponsor a conference on this topic, which has been the center of so much intense research in the past few decades.

John M. Kleeberg
Conference Chairman

Paper Chase: The 10 Reales of Santo Domingo

John M. Kleeberg

Coinage of the Americas Conference
at The American Numismatic Society, New York

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The 10 reales of Santo Domingo was the first silver crown struck in the Americas. Few examples survive. Not a single genuine example was seen during the entire twentieth century. This gap has been filled by the creation of fake 10 reales. This led some to suspect that no genuine 10 reales exist at all. Inaccurate bibliographic references have increased the confusion. Some authors refer to a book written by Alkmade, published in 1633 (Nesmith 1944; Byrne 1975; Newman 1983). But Cornelis van Alkmade was born in 1654. These authors have conflated two references in Medina (Medina 1919, 139)—a reference to Alkmade's book of 1700 and a placard published in Antwerp in 1633 or, possibly, to a moneychanger's manual published by Hieronymus Verdussen in the same year.

Numismatists have always synthesized the work of others. Many old coin illustrations were not taken from actual coins but copy other illustrations (Kleeberg 1995a, 90–94). Philologists evaluate manuscripts by arranging them into a stemma (Maas 1960; Kleeberg 1995b, 52). Coin illustrations can be arranged the same way. The problem is to find the original picture, the one that everyone else copied.

Coin illustrations began to be published in the Low Countries at the end of the fifteenth century. Many different trading and monetary areas overlapped in the Netherlands, and all their coins circulated there. Counterfeiters soon took advantage of this. To warn merchants against the counterfeits (the first coins attacked were Rhenish gulden), the new art of printing was put to use, and placards were issued with woodcuts of the coins. The government of the Netherlands revalued and demonetized coins. The government informed merchants of these changes through placards and books (Porteous 1969, 161–163).

Christoffel Plantin and Guillaem van Parijs produced one such manual in Antwerp in 1575 and in following years. The edition of 1575 only depicts gold coins. The 1576 edition includes silver coins. Guillaem van Parijs owned the coin woodcuts, and these woodcuts later passed into the hands of the Antwerp printer Hieronymus Verdussen. On a placard issued in 1577, Guillaem van Parijs described himself as "sworn printer to the Royal Mint" (Porteous 1969, endpaper). Plantin was a great scholar-printer of the early modern period. The Plantin-Moretus museum in Antwerp is dedicated to his memory. Because the woodcuts belonged to Guillaem van

Parijs, and not to Plantin, they never formed part of the holdings of the Officina Platiniana, so they are not part of that museum's collection, which otherwise preserves the contents of a sixteenth century printing office (Voet 1980, 4:1864-65; De Nave and Voet 1989; De Nave 1999).

The 1576 Plantin-Parijs manual depicts the 10 reales of Santo Domingo (Fig. 1). This indicates that the coin is real, that it did exist at one time—this is too old a publication for the piece to be a fantasy. Many Spanish-American coins circulated in Antwerp in the sixteenth century—the Plantin-Parijs manual also illustrates two Mexican 4 reales of the Carlos and Juana series.

In 1700, the Dutch scholar Cornelis van Alkmade published a book of the gold and silver medals (that included coins, as often happened in the early modern period) of the Counts of Holland. Since Emperor Charles V was also Count of Holland (one of many titles he held) Alkmade included the 10 reales of Santo Domingo, because it was issued in the name of Charles and his mother, Joan the Mad (Fig. 3). Alkmade copied the Plantin-Parijs illustration; one can tell from the decorated rings and because on the same plate Alkmade illustrates two other coins that are also found in Plantin-Parijs.

The Plantin-Parijs woodcut was reused by a later Antwerp printer, Hieronymus Verdussen, who put out several editions of a moneychangers' manual, including one of 1633. It is probably this edition that got combined with Alkmade to create the imaginary reference, "Alkmade 1633."

By the eighteenth century, coin and medal collecting had become popular enough in Germany to support two weekly competing numismatic periodicals, Köhler and Lochner, rather like *Coin World* and *Numismatic News*. In 1741 Johannes Köhler published an illustration of a 10 reales of Santo Domingo (Fig. 5). This could not have been the same piece as the Plantin coin, because there is an ornament after IHOANA on the obverse. This indicates that in 1741 there was a second coin in existence, also genuine. The Köhler copperplate engraving was reused in Scott's *Coin Collector's Journal* for February 1880, in the Scott catalogues, and in the *American Journal of Numismatics* of 1885. The February 1880 *Coin Collector's Journal* said that a Mr. Burhans of Greenville, New Jersey, owned the coin. The *American Journal of Numismatics* of January 1885, however, said that Burhans sold

the coin shortly afterwards. Since the engraving that accompanied this information was not a new engraving, but a reuse of an engraving of 1741, the Burhans coin probably was fake.

In 1892 a catalogue was published of the collection of Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramón of Barcelona (VQR). This included rubbings of two 10 reales (Figs. 8 and 9). Unfortunately the VQR collection has not been seen since. The Köhler specimen is a die link, combining the obverse of 6830 and the reverse of 6829. VQR 6829 is the same variety depicted in Plantin-Parijs and might be the same specimen.

The Calicó catalogue of 1988 condemned VQR 6829 but said that 6830 was genuine. This confusion probably resulted from the controversy over the Ray Byrne fake. I believe that both the VQR coins are genuine. The Plantin-Parijs book confirms that VQR 6829 is genuine; as does the Köhler die link.

In conclusion, there are four original illustrations of genuine coins: Plantin-Parijs in 1576; Köhler in 1741; and Vidal Quadras y Ramón in 1892 (Figs. 1, 5, 8, and 9). All other illustrations either derive from these four (Figs. 2–4, 6) or are illustrations of fakes (Figs. 7 and 10).

Why is the 10 reales such a rare coin? Perhaps the answer lies in the time of its first appearance: Antwerp in 1576. On 4–6 November 1576, Antwerp was subject to the "Spanish fury" when unpaid Spanish mercenaries revolted and sacked Antwerp (De Nave and Voet 1989, 12). If most of the coins from this mintage were sent to Antwerp, they would have been melted by the soldateska when they fenced their loot. This may explain why so few survive.

Fakes of the 10 Reales

Ray Byrne collected in the Caribbean series for many years and acquired what he claimed was a genuine 10 reales of Santo Domingo (Fig. 10). Most authorities now believe it is a fake, copied after VQR 6829 and overstruck on a German thaler. The piece was chemically analyzed by E. G. V. Newman and condemned in the *Bulletin on Counterfeits* (Newman 1983). The forger did an outstanding job. To point out two distinctions: on the fake, the lion on the upper right has his head thrown back; the lower arm of the lion on the upper right is higher than the gate of the castle; on the genuine piece,

the lion has his head erect, and his lower arm is in line with the gate of the castle. On the reverse of the fake, the left arm of the crown on the left pillar points at the A of INDIARO; on the genuine piece, the left arm of the crown on the left pillar points at the left foot of the R of INDIARO.

The ANS has a plaster cast in its trays of a fake 10 reales (Fig. 7). The ANS used beige plaster in the 1940s. This may represent the Burhans specimen, which is supposed to have turned up in New York in 1937 (Nesmith 1944). Or it might be the piece referred to by Robert I. Nesmith in marginalia in the ANS copy of Medina, *Las monedas coloniales Hispano-Americanas*: "Have seen struck in copper RIN 1948." The copper piece could have been struck from the same dies as the Burhans piece, in which case the ANS plaster cast represents both pieces equally well. This fake depicts the crowns as lilies, which is what Köhler did, so it was made by a forger working from the Köhler engraving. It is not deceptive, because the forger, rather charmingly, reversed the position of the lion on the lower left.

Calicó also mentions having seen a fantasy 5 reales—a wholly imaginary denomination.

Acknowledgments

Howard Herz first asked me to investigate the bibliographic references about the Santo Domingo 10 reales. When I shipped off to him a messy pile of photocopies, they came back neatly arranged and put into a special binder. He encouraged me to investigate this matter further and to publish my results. The bibliographic research was done to help Freeman Craig with his book on American crowns, which we had hoped would appear many years ago; the vagaries of numismatic publication mean that this will be the first fruit of those researches to appear. Isaac Rudman also made a number of helpful suggestions.

Illustrations of the 10 Reales of Santo Domingo: An Annotated Bibliography (Arranged by Date)

Books published before 1800 are given a full bibliographic description; those published afterwards are described in less detail.

Plantin, Christoffel, and Guillaem van Parijs. 1576.

ORDONNANTIE || Provisionael ons Heeren des || Conincx opt stuck ende Tolerantie vanden || Prijs ende loop vande gouden ende silverē || Munte / cours ende ganck hebbende || over al des C. Maiesteyts lan- || den van herwertsouer. || T'ANTVVERPEN, || By Christoffel Plantin, || inden gulden Passer. || Ende by Guillaem van Parijs op de Lombaerde || Veste / inden gulden Pellicaen. || M.CCCCC.LXXVI.

Figure 1.

Verdussen, Hieronymus. 1621.

CAERTE OFT LYSTE || Inhoudende den prijs vanelck Marck / Once / Enghel- || schen / ende Aes Troys gewicht / van alle despecien van gout || oft silver zijnde verboden / te licht / oft teseer versleten / ende || ouersulcx gehouden voor billoen / gelijc daer vooren ge- || houden zijn te betalen de Munt-meesters ende ghe- || sworen Wisselaers / naer advenant d'ordinancie || van hunne Hoocheden / gemaeckt by de gene- || rale Meesters vande munten in de maent || van Januario 1621 met de figuren van || de voorsz.peninghen. || T'ANTWERPEN, || By Hieronymus Verdussen / drucker vande mun- || te van hunne doorluchtighe Hoocheden / onse Souuereaine || Princess / woonende inde Camerstrate / inden rooden Leeuw || 1621. Met Gratie ende Privilegie.

Re-uses the Plantin-Parijs woodcut, i.e. Figure 1.

Arendt, Berndt. 1631.

Müntz Buch / || Darinnen zubesehen die || besten vnnd schönsten / so wol Alte als Newe || GeltMüntze / von welchen etliche bey des HErrn Christi || Zeiten geschlagen / gäng vnnd gebe gewesen / wie auch viel || vnd mancherley Reichsthaler / so im H. Römischen Rei- || che / so wol von Geistlichen als weltlichen Regenten sein ge- || müntzt worden / Denen / die da begehren allerhandt Gelt- || Müntze zuerkennen || zu grossem Nutzen mit schwerer || Mühe vnd Vnkosten auß vielen Anti- || quiteten zusammen ge- || bracht. || Daneben auch Fremder Po- || tentaten Müntz/als des Königs in Hispanien / Portugal/ || Frankreich / Navarra / Engelland / Pohlen / Schweden / Dennemarck/ || Schottlandt / Eydgenossen in Schweitz || wie auch der Herrn || Staden der Uniteten Provincien in || Niederlandt. || Mit

sampt einem weitleufftigen Register / vnd || Prob etlicher Gelder angehängt. || Hamburg in Verlegung Berndt Arendts/ || Anno 1631.

The actual author of this manual is unknown. It is known with several different title pages, each with a different publisher. In the early modern period, printers would swap printed pages at the Frankfurt Book Fair, and then issue the same book with their own imprints. In his eagerness to include as many silver gulden and thalers as possible, the author blew up pictures of small gold gulden to silver thaler size—thereby creating fantasy pieces. The book is particularly interesting because it is so unreliable (Grote 1857). The book is generally referred to as Arendt, after the commonest title page. Arendt copies Plantin-Parijs. Figure 2.

Verdussen, Hieronymus. 1633.

Ordonnonancie || ende Instructie naer de welcke || voort-aen hen moeten reguleren || die ghesworen Wisselaers ofte || Collecteurs vande Goude ende || Silvere penningen / wesende ver- || boden / geschroyt / te licht oft te || seer versleten / ende oversulcx ver- || claert ende ghehouden voor bil- || loen / daer toe ghecommitteert om || de selve te leveren inde Munten || van sijne Majesteyt / ende al daer || bekeert te worden in penninghen || van hunnen slaghe. || T'ANTWERPEN || By Hieronymus Verdussen / Drucker van || de Munte van sijne Majesteyt / woo- || nende inde Cammerstraet / inden || rooden Leeuwe. 1633 || Met Gratie ende Privilegie.

Resembles Verdussen's edition of 1621, in that it re-uses the Plantin-Parijs woodcut (see Figure 1).

Alkmade, Kornelis van. 1700.

DE || GOUDE EN ZILVERE || GANGBAARE || PENNINGEN || DER || GRAAVEN || EN || GRAAVINNEN || VAN || HOLLAND, || in êr egte stand en waare weezens || vertóónd en behandeld, || en med één korte beschrijving der || PRINSELIIKE LEEVENS-BEDRIIVEN || opgehelderd, || DOOR || KORNELIS VAN ALKEMADE. || te DELFT gedrukt || bi ANDRIEZ VOORSTAD, in het jaar 1700.

This is a copperplate engraving based upon Figure 1. It is based upon Plantin-Parijs because of the "beaded" rings separating the various parts of the coin. Figure 3.

Damoreau, Estienne. 1727.

TRAITÉ || DES || NEGOCIATIONS DE BANQUE, || ET || DES MONNOYES ÉTRANGERES; || CONTENANT || L'Analyse du titre de fin, poids, & valeur des Especes d'Or & d'Argent, || tant anciennes que courantes, dans les Etats des Princes & Republi- || ques de l'Europe; avec une Explication historique de celles des || Princes, Comtes, Barons, Villes libres du Saint Empire, & d'Italie. || L'Explication des Changes Etrangers par titre de fin, poids, & valeur || des Especes réelles, & des noms de celles de Change en termes François. || Les valeurs relatives des Especes de Change entre elles. || La methode facile d'operer les conversions des Especes d'un Royaume en celles d'un autre, suivant le cours des Changes. || L'Explication analytique des negociations de Banque qui se font jour- || nellement sur les Places de commerce de l'Europe, avec la methode || facile d'en faire les operations, & d'en concevoir l'intrigue, sans le || secours des Maîtres. || Ouvrage enrichi des representations des susdites Monnoyes, gravées en || Taille-douce. || Par ESTIENNE DAMOREAU, Negociant à Paris. || A PARIS, || Chez GUILLAUME CAVELIER, dans la Grand'Salle du Palais, à l'Ecu de France. || ET || PISSOT, Quai de Conti, à la descente du Pont-Neuf, au coin de la ruë de || Nevers, à la Croix d'Or. || M. DCC. XXVII. || Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roy.

This is based on Figure 1, rather than Figure 2 or 3; it preserves the peculiar shape of the C and the A in CAROLVS, which was altered by both Arendt and Alkmade. Figure 4.

Köhler, Johann David. 19 April 1741.

Zwo rare Spanische Müntzen. || Ein doppelter Castilianischer, und ein einfacher || Aragonischer Real, von der Königin Johanna, und || ihrem Sohne, K. Carln dem ersten. || [in:] Johann David Köhlers, P. P. || Im Jahr 1741. wöchentlich heraus gegebender || Historischer || Münz-Belustigung || Dreyzehender Theil, || Darinnen || allerhand merckwürdige und rare || Thaler, Ducaten, Schaustücken, || und || andere sonderbahre Gold- und Silber-Münzen || von mancherley Alter, zusammen LXIII. Stücke, || richtig in Kupffer gestochen, beschrieben, und aus der Historie || umständlich erkläret werden. || Nebst einer dienlichen Nachricht || von den Hannibalschen

und Kochischen || MEDAILLEN, statt der Vorrede. || Nürnberg, || Bey Christoph Weigels, des älteren, Kunsthändlers sell. Wittwe. || Gedruckt bey Andreas Bieling. A.[nno] 1741.

Köhler was working from a genuine coin. He reversed the S, which the Plantin, Arendt, and Alkmade woodcuts do not do, but is found on the coin rubbing in VQR. This coin is a die link between the two VQR coins, namely between the reverse of VQR 6829 and the obverse of VQR 6830. The baroque copperplate engraver misinterpreted the crowns on top of the pillars as being lilies; he was more used to pillar and waves type Potosí coins, which do have lilies instead of crowns. This mistake was copied when the Burhans fabrication was made. Figure 5.

Heiss, Aloïss. 1865. *Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasion de los Árabes.* Zaragoza: Luis Marquina.

Figure 6, explicitly based on Figure 3 (Alkmade), but much altered, possibly under the influence of Verdussen (see Fig. 1).

[Scott, J. W.] 1880. First American Dollar. *The Coin Collector's Journal* 5: 17.

Scott, the publisher of the *Coin Collector's Journal,* constantly recycled engravings, using them in his journal, his auction catalogues, and his standard coin catalogues. Sometimes the original engraving came from Fonrobert; in this case, it came from Köhler's *Münzbelustigung.* Figure 5.

ca. 1880? Plaster cast made of fake 10 reales, probably the Burhans specimen; plaster cast now in ANS collection. Figure 7.

Brevoort, J. C. 1885. Early Spanish and Portuguese Coinage in America. *American Journal of Numismatics* 19 (January): 65–66.

Uses the Köhler engraving again. Figure 5.

VQR Catalogue. 1892. *Catalogo de la colección de monedas y medallas de Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramón de Barcelona.* 2: Nos. 6829 and 6830. Barcelona: A. López Robert.

Coin rubbings from two genuine coins. Figures 8 and 9.

Scott Stamp and Coin Company Ltd. 1893. *Standard Coin Catalogue. Silver and Gold.* 27th edition. New York: Scott Stamp and Coin Company Ltd.

Re-uses the Köhler engraving. Figure 5.

Medina, J. T. 1919. *Las monedas coloniales hispano-americanas*, 139, 141. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzevirana.

Re-uses the pictures from Heiss (Figure 6) and VQR 6829 (Figure 8).

Adams, Edgar H. 1929. *Catalogue of the Collection of Julius Guttag, New York, N.Y., U.S.A. Comprising the Coinage of Mexico, Central America, South America and the West Indies.* New York: no publisher.

Reuses the VQR pictures. Figures 8 and 9.

Nesmith, Robert I. 1944. The Coinage of Charles and Johanna for Spanish Colonial America—1536–1556. *The Coin Collector's Journal* 11, 4(July–August): 95–98.

Uses figures 5, 8, and 9.

Dasí, Tomás. 1950. *Estudio de los reales de a ocho, también llamados pesos, dólares, piastras, patacones o duros españoles,* vol. 1, 85–91. Valencia: no publisher.

Mentions (but does not reproduce) an Antwerp placard of 1575, which is presumably the same woodcut as that used by Plantin-Parijs. Reproduces figures 6, 8 and 9.

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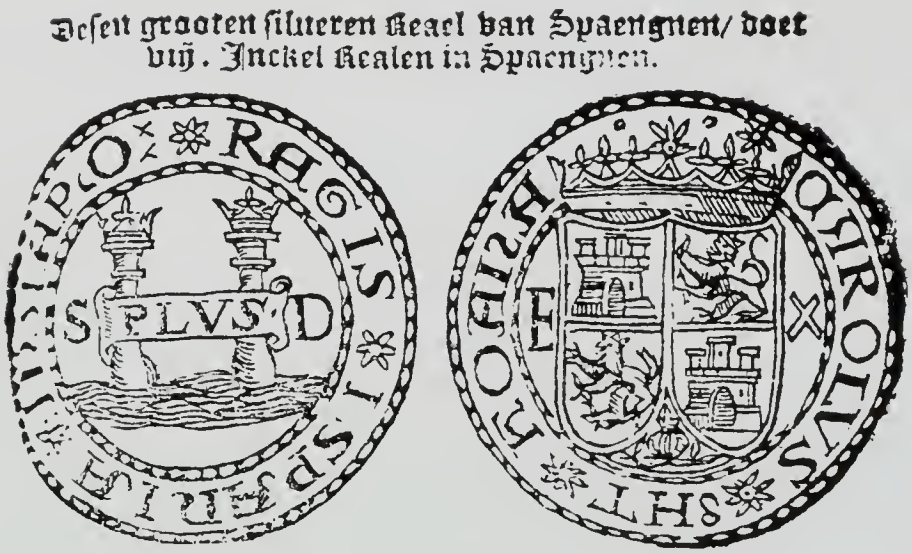

Figure 1. Plantin and Parijs, 1576.

Figure 2. Arendt, 1631.

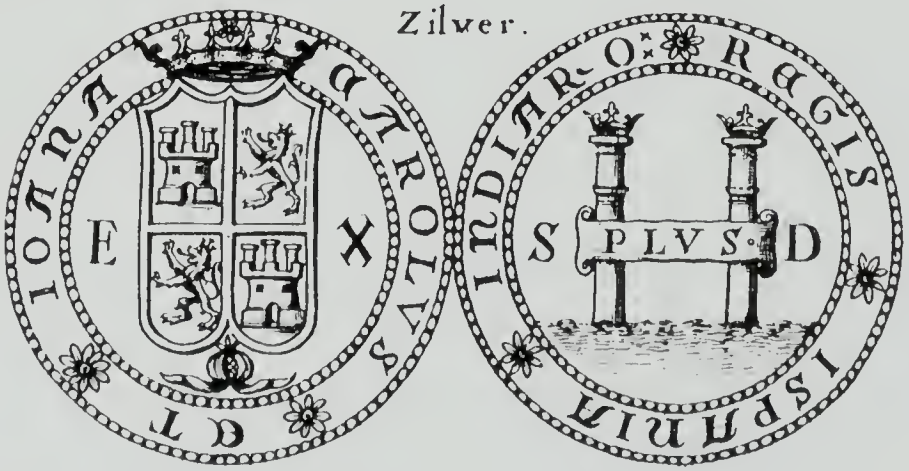

Figure 3. Alkmade, 1700.

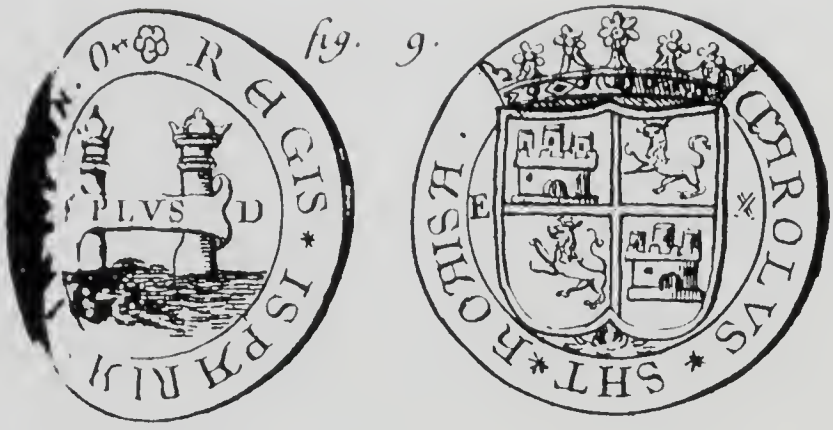

Figure 4. Damoreau, 1727.

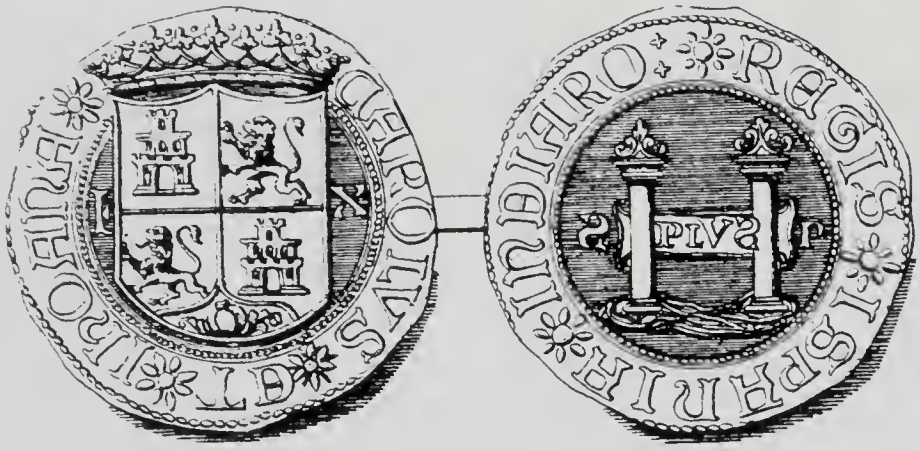

Figure 5. Köhler, 1741.

Figure 6. Heiss, 1865.

Figure 7. Cast in ANS collection of fake 10 reales.

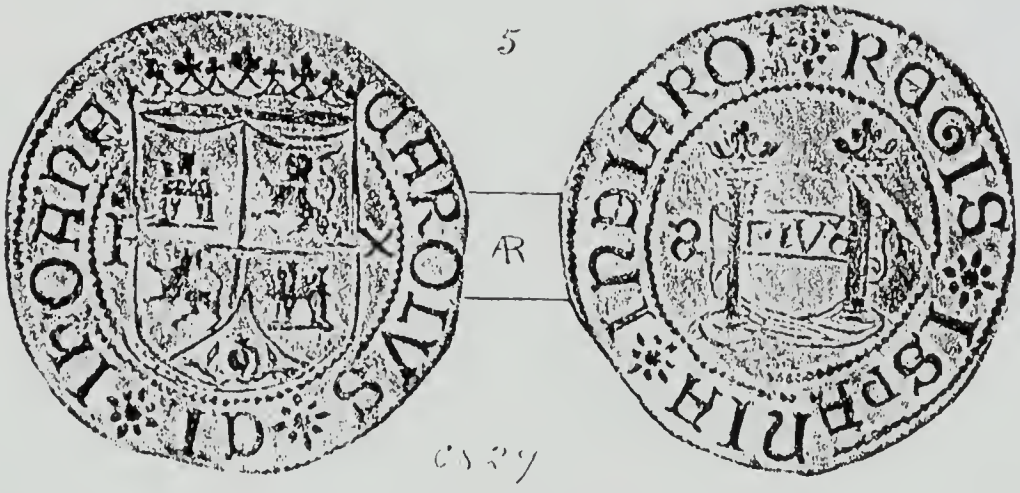

Figure 8. Vidal Quadras y Ramón no. 6829, 1892.

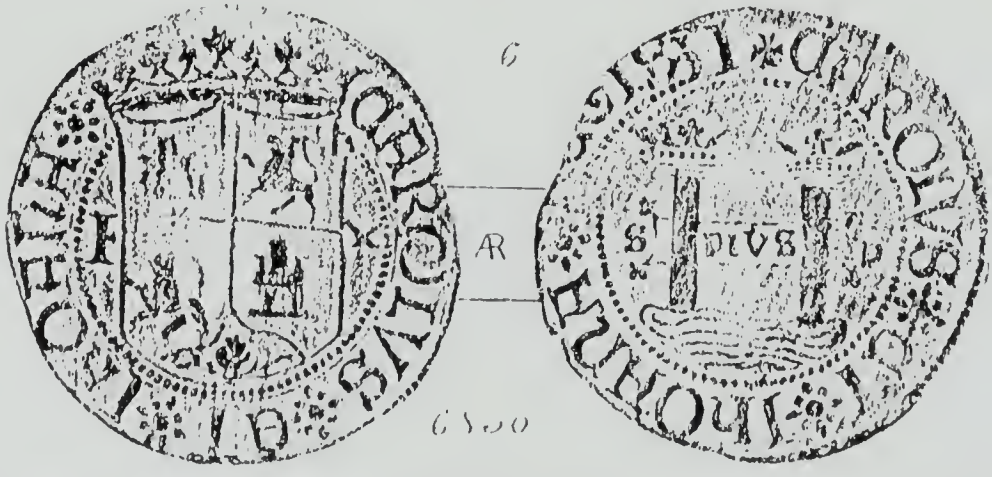

Figure 9. Vidal Quadras y Ramón no. 6830, 1892.

Figure 10. Byrne, 1975.

The Myths and Mysteries of the Somers' Ilands Hogge Money

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Coinage of the Americas Conference
at The American Numismatic Society, New York

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Somer's Islands, Somer's Isles, Summer Isles, Sumer Islands, Sommer's Ilands: the spelling variations seem endless. All are spellings found in historical accounts of the mercantilist colonial settlement of the archipelago that would come to be known as Bermuda. Today, not much remains of this era other than some ancient stone structures scattered across the eastern portions of Bermuda, a precious few written personal accounts of the Somers' Ilands Company's exploits and tribulations, and a few score numismatic artifacts known affectionately (today) as *hogge money.* Careful research of this pastiche of dissimilar artifacts can enable one to piece together a remarkably vivid image of what life was like during the early colonization of the Bermudas. Appreciating this environment is crucial to understanding hogge money in its original context.

The truth is that hogge money failed miserably as a medium of exchange because the colonists regarded the coins as worthless. The colonists so reviled the coins (tokens, really) that they all but permanently expunged them from their colony and from posterity. Almost two centuries would pass before hogge money specimens would be rediscovered. In the intervening time, the Somers' Ilands Company (commonly known today as the Bermuda Company) was dissolved, and Bermuda came under the direct control of the Crown.

The passage of time, it seems, healed all wounds. The ill will that the colonists bore toward hogge money dissipated: the reasons for animosity long since obviated. Hogge money is no longer reviled as the physical embodiment of insult and injury from a mercantile company. Today's Bermudians, some of whom are descendents of those original colonists, revere Hogge money specimens as a long-lost link with their cultural heritage. The proof of these claims is supplied by archaeological, historical, and even metallurgical evidence, which is presented throughout this document.

Overview of Hogge Money

The coins of Somers' Ilands, popularly known as hogge money, are curious relics of the early 1600s. At that time, the Somers' Ilands Company was colonizing the beautiful archipelago that is known today as Bermuda. These coins were crudely manufactured using base metals and paid out to the employees of the Somers' Ilands Company. For a variety of reasons, the coins ceased circulating after a very short period and were lost to posterity

until a specimen was discovered in the nineteenth century. Numerous other specimens came to light after the initial discovery, and by the end of the nineteenth century a secondary market had developed for them.[1] Counterfeits, too, had appeared by the 1850s, although these featured slightly modified designs and were manufactured using modern technologies. Thus, they were not convincing forgeries because they were too well made![2]

Unfortunately, no serious and comprehensive numismatic survey of the known specimens of hogge money has ever been conducted. There are numerous reasons for this, including the facts that extant specimens are extremely rare and scattered widely in collections (both public and private) around the world. Another factor hindering the numismatic study of these coins has been the notoriously poor condition of surviving specimens. The coins are seldom encountered without severe environmental damage, including verdigris encrustation.[3] Verdigris encrustation is a very destructive form of corrosion that permanently destroys surface details, thereby hindering die variety identification.

Despite these handicaps, Major Fred Pridmore[4] performed some rudimentary classification of hogge money. Pridmore's efforts were limited to merely applying a classification number to the known denominations and did not include any meaningful attempt to identify die varieties. Pridmore's work continues to be used to identify hogge money specimens, although his work is rapidly becoming obsolete as die varieties are discovered and die marriages identified.

Numismatic Attributes

Numismatists and historians alike have found that the primary source of information about hogge money has been the tokens themselves. As with virtually every coinage generically described as colonial (i.e., seventeenth- to eighteenth-century North American), the state of die-manufacturing technology necessitated the hand-cutting of each die. Thus, substantial differences exist from die to die. To date, a modicum of research into die variety identification has been performed, but no serious, comprehensive numismatic attempt has yet been conducted. Diligent research and comparison of the extant specimens, in terms of obverse and reverse die differences as well as known die marriages, has the potential to significantly expand the base of knowledge.

Pound Sterling Denominations. The bulk of what is known of hogge money has been gleaned from examining the tokens themselves. One of the most obvious attributes of this coinage is its denominations. To date, representative specimens have been found in only four denominations of the British pound sterling monetary system. These denominations are indicated on the obverse with Roman numerals, and include:

- Twopence (indicated via II on the obverse)
- Threepence (indicated via III on the obverse)
- Sixpence (indicated vi VI on the obverse)
- Shilling (indicated via XII on the obverse)

It is possible that other denominations were manufactured. Indeed, rumors have existed for over one hundred years that penny and groat (fourpence) coins were manufactured. Despite the persistence of these rumors, no specimens of these denominations have yet been uncovered. This is not in and of itself conclusive proof that such denominations were not manufactured. It just means that surviving specimens have yet to be discovered. Whether they ever existed is not likely to be proved conclusively in the near future. However, it is likely that the nascent economy of Somers' Ilands did not require the full spectrum of denominations. Nor would the owners of the Somers' Ilands Company have been motivated to provide an amenity such as a full complement of coinage.[5]

Locally Significant Indicia. Although the Somers' Ilands Company had royal permission to manufacture and use a local currency to facilitate intraisland trade, the local currency was not a regal issue. The distinctions between regal and private issues are many. For the purposes of understanding the hogge money series, it is important to note that the company's coinage was manufactured with a base metal. The Crown customarily issued precious-metal coinage (e.g., gold and silver) adorned with regal indicia (including portraiture and crests, among other designs). These coins were legal tender within their issuer's realm. Thanks to their having an intrinsic value, regal coins were usually readily accepted in foreign lands, albeit at some approximation of their melt, rather than face, value.

The charter of the Somers' Ilands Company specifically granted the right to manufacture a coinage for use only within their lands. Thus, the coinage issued by the Somers' Ilands Company was intended to be a local

coinage only: it was not valid for payment of taxes and was not legal tender in the other British realms. Nor could these coins be used for any other purpose than to facilitate intraisland commerce within the Somers' Ilands.

The notion of local use was reinforced in various ways. The most obvious way to limit the acceptance of a coin was to manufacture it with a base metal rather than a precious metal. Another way to reinforce the intentionally limited field of use was through the designs featured on the coins. Both the obverse and reverse featured locally significant indicia that simply could not be mistaken for a coin of the English Crown, or any other crown.

The company's instructions to Governor Tucker[6] also made it quite clear that the base "coynes" were for local use only. Specifically, his instructions stated: "You shall p.claime [proclaim] the sayde Coyne to be currant to pass freely from man to man, only throughout the Islands, & not otherwise." Implicit in this statement is that debts to the company, as well as taxes, needed to be discharged with a commodity of value. The usual commodity used to pay debts and taxes was tobacco, although the company and the Crown would also have gladly accepted ambergris, gold, silver, or anything else that could be readily sold in England. Given these facts, one must conclude that hogge money specimens really were not coins: they were tokens. They possessed an intrinsic value far below their stated face value, which was why neither the Crown nor the company would accept them as payment.

The Reverse. Identifying the obverse and reverse of a token from the Somers' Ilands is an interesting task. These tokens lack many of the features that today's numismatists automatically associate with the "front" and "back" of a coin. These tokens lack a date and, more importantly, do not bear the visage of a monarch or any other issuing authority. In the context of seventeenth-century English coins, the lack of a date is not surprising (Rawlings 1898). However, English subjects of that era were accustomed to precious metal coins decorated with heraldic icons and images of the king and/or queen. Such designs assured people of the coins' regal issuance and tacitly guaranteed their worth.

The Somers' Ilands tokens enjoy no regal features. Curiously (in the context of contemporary numismatic conventions), the devices and designs selected for the hogge money tokens do not readily suggest an obverse and a reverse. The primary device on what is generally accepted to be the reverse

of the tokens is a three-masted sailing ship. Although the ship is not explicitly identified, it appears to be an artist's rendition of a typical sailing ship from the early seventeenth century. A careful scrutiny of the ship's design features reveals that it is a melange of naval architectures: it bears some of the features of the late sixteenth-century carrack, and other features of the early seventeenth-century galleon (Williams et al. 1997, 39–42).[7] Thus, it is logical to assume that the artist or die-sinker was familiar with contemporary naval architectures, and simply blended architectural features to depict a typical (rather than specific) sailing ship. The combination of carrack and galleon features helps fix the date of design and manufacture of the Somers' Ilands hogge money at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At this time, both ship types were in common use.

It is also generally accepted that this hybridized vessel was intended to signify the *Sea Adventure*. The *Sea Adventure* (more commonly known as the *Sea Venture*) wrecked on the jagged reefs of Bermuda in 1609, resulting in the first permanent habitation of the islands. The ship is under sail heading to the left, which may be a metaphor for west. This design appears on all denominations of the series.

The Obverse. A wild hog is the primary device on the side that is generally considered the obverse. This device was intended to fondly recall the hogs that had infested the islands when the *Sea Adventure* ran aground. The animals were so numerous and unaccustomed to predation that the castaways were easily able to secure an adequate supply of fresh meat for the duration of their stay on the islands. More importantly, upon their departure, they were able to secure even more hogs (both live and butchered) for their beleaguered comrades in Jamestown.

Above the hogge on the obverse were Roman numerals indicating the token's intended value. For example, a shilling (twelvepence) token featured XII in the field above the hogge's back. Similarly, a threepence had III in that space.

Taxonomy of Hogge Money

Major Fred Pridmore conducted the seminal research of varieties in the Somers' Ilands token series. His work, though a landmark in its time, has become obsolete through the discovery of die varieties that are not gracefully

accommodated within his rigid numbering scheme. Pridmore attempted to assign a series of simple numbers to identify all the known varieties of hogge money. These varieties weren't really varieties: they were denominations. Despite this coarseness of detail, Pridmore's work has formed the basis of today's commonly accepted taxonomy of the Somers' Ilands hogge money. The Bermuda Monetary Authority (BMA), in conjunction with the Bermuda Maritime Museum, have greatly advanced the body of knowledge of this tokenage and have established much-needed extensions to the basic Pridmore numbering system.

Pridmore 1. Pridmore identified the shilling or twelvepence token as the first variety in the series. All shillings, according to this system, are assigned the P.1 (for Pridmore 1) identifier. Sometime after Pridmore's work on this series, it was noticed that at least two distinct reverse dies were used to strike the Somers' Ilands shillings. One variety featured much larger sails on the sailing ship than did the other. Somewhat predictably, these varieties are known simply as Large Sails and Small Sails varieties. The BMA has extended the Pridmore system to accommodate these die varieties. For example, the large sails shilling is known as a Pridmore 1, BMA type I. The Small Sails shilling is called a Pridmore 1, BMA type II. Of these two types, the Large sails variety is the most common. Only approximately six specimens of the Small Sails variety have been identified (Williams et al. 1997, 47–48).

The following photographs, Figures 1 and 2, demonstrate the differences between the Pridmore 1, BMA types I and II reverses.

To date, only a single obverse die variety has been identified. This is likely indicative of the lack of serious numismatic study, as it is seems highly

Figure 1. Small Sails shilling reverse.

Figure 2. Large Sails shilling reverse.

Figure 3. Typical shilling obverse.

unlikely that a single obverse die would have sufficed for the entire production run of Somers' Ilands shillings. Figure 3 presents a photograph of the typical shilling obverse, which exists in die marriages with both the Large and Small Sails reverse varieties.

Extant specimens of these crudely manufactured shillings have measured between 30 mm and 35 mm in diameter. Weights of these specimens vary widely, due to the effects of corrosive spalling, clipping, and differences in planchet thickness. Weights for the shillings range between 55.1 and 175.9 grains. No meaningful distinctions in either weight or diameter can be established between the large and small sails varieties.

Pridmore 2. The second of the Pridmore series is the sixpence. As with the shillings, Pridmore's work did not identify the two distinct reverse die varieties that are known today. These varieties feature different-sized portholes on the sailing ship. In a similar vein, these two varieties have become known as the Large Portholes and Small Portholes varieties. The BMA has also established extensions to Pridmore's system to accommodate these reverse die varieties. P2, BMA type I, identifies the Large Portholes variety, whereas P2, BMA type II identifies the Small Portholes reverse. Figures 4 and 5 demonstrate the difference between these two reverse die varieties.

As with the shilling, no meaningful obverse die varieties have yet been recognized within the numismatic community. Survival rates suggest that fewer sixpences were manufactured than shillings, which would result in the need for fewer dies.[8] The typical sixpence obverse is depicted in Figure 6.

Sixpence specimens range in diameter from 25 mm to 27 mm for both reverse varieties. The range of weights, unlike the shilling reverse varieties,

Figure 4. Large Portholes sixpence reverse.

Figure 5. Small Portholes sixpence reverse.

Figure 6. Typical sixpence obverse.

varies slightly between the Large and Small Portholes varieties. The Large Porthole variety is known in weights ranging from 33.6 to 58.6 grains. The Small Porthole variety ranges in weight from 36 to 63.1 grains. The disparity in weight ranges can be attributed to damage from clipping and corrosive spalling, as well as the use of both thick and thin planchets.

Pridmore 3. Continuing with his convention of progressing downward through the denominations, Pridmore assigned P.3 to the threepence tokens of Somers' Ilands. The threepence was substantially smaller than the sixpence and shilling tokens. Consequently, the obverse and reverse designs were abbreviated to include fewer design elements. Ostensibly, this made cutting dies easier than if the design elements were retained but reduced in size to fit the smaller denomination's planchet. For details of how the design elements of the obverse and reverse of the threepence were abbreviated compare Figures 7 and 8.

The threepence is the rarest of the Somers' Ilands tokens, with between six and eight known specimens.[9] All known specimens are apparently from the same die marriage, as no varieties have been reported for either the obverse or the reverse.

Figure 7. Typical threepence obverse.

Figure 8. Typical threepence reverse.

Although physical data are not available for approximately half of the known threepences, those that have been measured weigh between 21.6 and 30.3 grains. Their diameter is fairly uniform, between 19 mm and 21 mm.

Pridmore 4. The last known denomination of Somers' Ilands tokens is the twopence. The twopence is better represented in terms of survival rates than the threepence but is still quite scarce.

Pridmore identified this denomination as P.4, and did not recognize any die varieties. Subsequent research has resulted in the identification of two distinct obverse die varieties. These varieties are described, somewhat arbitrarily, as Large Star and Small Star. These monikers derive from the presence of a four-pointed, star-shaped device on the obverse field between the hog's legs. Ostensibly, this device symbolized a flower rather than a star, so one must regard the names as somewhat arbitrary.

Figure 9 presents the Somers' Ilands Large Star twopence obverse. Unfortunately, the author was unable to secure permission to use any images of the Small Star variety. The Small Star variety has been identified as P.4, BMA type I and the Large Star variety is now known as P.4, BMA type II.

To date, no reverse varieties have yet to be identified. The typical reverse found on the twopence is presented in Figure 10. As with any Somers' Iland denomination, the identification of a reverse die variety, in conjunction with the documented obverse die varieties, would necessitate the creation of a more graceful classification scheme that could uniquely describe obverse/reverse die marriages.

Extant twopence specimens tend to measure approximately 16 mm or 17 mm[10] in diameter (Williams et al. 1997, 60–61). The weight of Small

Figure 9. Large Star twopence obverse.

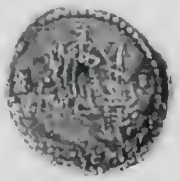

Figure 10. Typical twopence reverse.

Star specimens ranges from 19.5 to 26.9 grains. Large Star specimens range in weight between 14.5 and 26.2 grains.

Silvered Versus Unsilvered. One of the more intriguing of the physical attributes of Somers' Ilands tokenage is the presence of a thin, silvery coating on some, but not all, of the surviving specimens. Some specimens feature a fairly heavy coating, while others have just the barest residual trace of silvering in the protected recesses of the token's surfaces. Specimens of all denominations are known both with and without a silvery coating. This silvery coating has long been the subject of speculation. Curiously, instead of wondering what the metal actually was, speculation has focused on why and when it was applied. The metal has long been assumed, without scientific evidence, to be silver.

The benefit of hindsight has gifted modern historians and numismatists with the knowledge that the Somers' Ilands tokens failed as a circulating medium and very quickly disappeared. The tokens disappeared not only from circulation but also from the face of the earth! They remained unknown for almost two centuries until their accidental rediscovery in the nineteenth century. Armed with this knowledge, speculation focused on the silvering being a desperate attempt to either:

1. Add intrinsic value to the tokens or
2. Conceal the token's composition from a base metal

Both rationales would support an attempt by the Somers' Ilands Company to improve the tokens' acceptability to the colonists.

Thick Versus Thin Planchets. It is known that certain denominations were manufactured on planchets of very different thicknesses. For example, the Large Portholes sixpence reverse has been identified on both thick and thin

planchets. Similarly, shillings are known on both thick and thin planchets. This difference in thickness, obviously, affects both the weight of the token as well as the value of the metal used to manufacture it.

It has been postulated that the thicker tokens were manufactured first and over time tokens were reduced in weight. This would be consistent with the reduction in the weight of legal tender coins during the period of economic inflation that was rampant during Europe's postfeudal and mercantile colonial eras. However, if the Somers' Ilands tokens were really made of brass (as was widely believed), the cost per planchet could have been reduced by further altering the alloy's composite ratio rather than decreasing the thickness of the planchet. Such a change would have been less obvious to the colonists. The fact that planchet thickness and not alloy was altered suggests that either the metallic composition was not an alloy, or that the alloyed metals did not differ appreciably in cost.

Another theory regarding the discrepancy in planchet thickness holds that two or more minters were used to manufacture the tokens. This theory would nicely explain both the discrepancy in planchet thickness and the existence of multiple die varieties. A contravening argument is that to date die varieties have only been discovered on just one side of the shilling, sixpence, and twopence. If two minters were used, and each cut his own dies, there would be noticeable dissimilarities between obverse/reverse die combinations rather than just dissimilarities on just one of the two sides.

Much like virtually every other aspect of the Somers' Ilands tokens, it is not possible to definitely state why they were made using planchets of different thickness. Thus, this tidbit of knowledge, gleaned by comparison of surviving specimens, serves only to fuel one's imagination rather than sate one's curiosity.

Three Strikes? One of the more sophisticated theories developed to date, was proferred by the authors of *The Coinage of the Bermudas*. This book was sponsored and published by the Bermuda Monetary Authority. This theory holds that the Somers' Ilands tokens were actually struck in three distinct batches. These batches can be broadly described as follows.

1. The first batch was made using thick planchets
2. The second batch was silvered

3. The third batch was made using thin planchets and new dies, and was also silvered

This theory nicely explains why certain specimens feature a silvery coating while others do not, as well as the disparity in planchet thickness. It is also consistent with other forensic evidence that suggests a single source struck the tokens. Additionally, this theory is consistent with the trend to reduce the size/metal content of tokens to counter the effects of economic inflation that accompanied Europe's mercantile colonial era.

The theory is founded on a set of assumptions. In essence, this theory assumes that all but the first batch of tokens was silvered. The first batch was made from thick planchets, as was the second batch. The only difference between the first two batches was that the second batch was silvered to remediate some unknown-to-us shortcoming of the first batch. Ostensibly, this shortcoming was identified via rejection of the first batch of tokens by the inhabitants of the Somers' Ilands. The third batch was still silvered (which would indicate that the silvering was, to some extent, successful in increasing acceptance) but made using thinner, less expensive planchets.

There are at least four critical assumptions submerged in this theory that merit consideration:

1. All thin-planchet tokens were silvered
2. The silvery coating was silver
3. Thick-planchet tokens were made both with and without a silvery coating
4. Hogge money was manufactured over time, rather than in a single striking

The soundness of this particular assumption set can only be borne out through a thorough analysis of all surviving specimens. If, for example, thin-planchet tokens are discovered without silvering, the arguments in favor of this theory are substantially weakened. The authors of this theory offer a caveat against such a possible discovery: They acknowledge that silvered tokens might not retain their silvering. Silvered specimens are often found with just light traces of their silvering. The reasons given are that the silvering was applied in a thin layer, and that the silver reacted with chlorine and salt ions present in the salty, humid atmosphere of Bermuda. The result of this chemical reaction was a physical decomposition of the copper and

silver: verdigris. The strength of this argument rests on yet another assumption: the thin, silvery layer of metal is actually silver.

Whether or not the particular set of assumptions that supports this theory stands up to rigorous scrutiny is almost immaterial; this theory is still significant and valuable. It is the first source that suggests that the Somers' Ilands tokenage was manufactured over a course of time, and in different batches, rather than simultaneously. The sequence of events, the number of batches made, and even the physical variety per batch can be modified to reflect new information as it becomes available. More valuable than identifying a specific sequence, or physical attributes per batch, is the theory that hogge money was made in several batches over an indeterminate amount of time.

The significant implication of multiple manufacturing batches is that the tokens circulated over a course of time rather than failing immediately upon introduction. This is consistent with wear patterns evident on some specimens, as well as other numismatic evidence. On page 10 of his epic tome, *The Complete Encyclopedia of US and Colonial Coinage,* Walter Breen indicates that a Small Sails shilling demonstrates rust near the letters on the obverse. Given that the coins were not made of a ferrous metal, the rust could not be native to the coin. However, the dies were probably made of a ferrous metal, and could have rusted if improperly stored. Rust on the dies could then have been transferred to planchets during the minting process. This indicates that the obverse die had lain unused long enough to rust, which supports the notion of a series of manufacturing batches spread out over time.

Lost to Posterity!

The single greatest challenge in understanding the hogge money of Somers' Ilands is that they were lost to posterity for so many years. The passing of the centuries has substantially diminished the world's base of knowledge on this topic; knowledge has disappeared as generations have passed. Explicitly recorded knowledge is slightly more available, but offers only scant information about this crucial era in Western history. Perhaps the greatest source of knowledge is embodied in the surviving specimens of the Somers' Ilands tokens. These specimens offer substantial insights to all those who take the time to understand them. New specimens continue to be found, and new

die varieties are still being identified. New specimens, new die varieties, and even die marriages await discovery.

However, there is a limit to the knowledge that can be gleaned from the evidence that the tokens themselves provide. Too often, clues are misinterpreted and false assumptions embraced. Thus, empirical knowledge tends to be impaired by misinformation. Absent accurate information, misinformation evolves into myths and mysteries over time. The next section identifies these sundry myths and mysteries and demonstrates the limitations of physical evidence absent considerations of the socioeconomic context within which the tokens were issued, used, and failed.

The Myths and Mysteries

Since its rediscovery, the tokenage of Somers' Ilands has been enshrouded in mystery. Historians and numismatists struggled to understand these strange base-metal tokens. For all their efforts, scant historical evidence was found. Historical documentation was limited to but two primary sources:

1. Captain John Smith's work of 1624, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and Summer Isles*
2. Governor Nathaniel Butler's *The Historye of the Bermudaes or Summer Islands*

These sources yielded modest information, yet together they represent most of the historical documentation of the Somers' Ilands tokenage. Virtually every other reference draws extensively from one or both of these primary sources of information. These two sources provided the salient, persistent "truths," which include[11]:

- The colonists of Somers' Ilands coined (pardon the double entendre) the phrase "hogge money."
- The metallic composition was "brasse".
- The tokens circulated briefly but then ceased circulating sometime prior to 1624.

Over time, these "facts" were complemented with empirical observations to further develop the cumulative body of knowledge on the Somers' Ilands tokens. In this manner, a limited knowledge of the denominations minted, as well as certain die varieties (such as the large sails/small sails of the shillings, and the large portholes/small portholes of the sixpences) was gained. Despite the knowledge gleaned in this manner, empirical

observation has been an imperfect mechanism for learning about the Somers' Ilands tokens. Most of the tokens have been subjected to centuries of environmental abuse. Thus, most specimens are heavily corroded or otherwise impaired, which has all but precluded meaningful die-variety analysis. Further exacerbating the quest for knowledge is the scarcity of the tokens. The few specimens that were found were promptly scattered around the world; their accessibility to numismatists hindered by geography, ownership, and technological constraints.

It is only recently that more scientific evidence has emerged. These new facts, when put in the context of the social and economic environment of the Somers' Ilands colony, enable historians and numismatists to more fully understand this colonial issue. There remains a dearth of evidence regarding many of the crucial aspects of this issue. However, sufficient evidence exists to dispel many of the myths and mysteries that have become an unquestioned part of the hogge money lore. Examining such evidence will enable a much greater understanding of the tokenage's issue, use, and societal rejection.

Mysteries

Upon the emergence of a handful of specimens in the mid-nineteenth century, numismatists were at a loss to explain them. Initially, they were regarded as a medallic relic from the early days of Bermuda (Crosby 1875). The rationale behind this assumption was that Somer's Ilands were not a sovereign nation. Rather, they were a privately owned colony of the British Empire. The operant logic behind this assumption was that in seventeenth-century England, coinage was a royal prerogative, and these specimens were obviously not regal coinage. Therefore, hogge money specimens could only be medals. It was only the discovery of a sixpence specimen (Crosby 1875)[12] that led numismatists to conclude that they were a medium of exchange.

Further evidence of their having been used as a medium of exchange, or currency, was found in historical documentation that was approximately contemporary to hogge money. Governor Nathaniel Butler's recounting of the history of the Somers' Ilands (Butler 1881). In this account, Governor Butler records the unpopularity and scorn with which the coins were treated upon their introduction in 1616. Captain Smith's account describes their

having been used as money for a brief time. The cumulative merit of these two sources, in addition to the empirical knowledge that specimens existed in multiple denominations, led nineteenth-century numismatists and historians to gradually accept that hogge money was actually used as money. Knowing that the Somers' Ilands were privately owned during the era in which the coins were likely issued, an additional supposition was possible: they were privately manufactured tokens[13] rather than a legal tender. With this acceptance came the realization of how little was actually known about them, and how close they came to being lost forever.

Today, numerous mysteries about hogge money persist. These mysteries are rooted in our ignorance of the socioeconomic context that spawned them, witnessed their brief and reluctant use, and ultimately expunged them from that culture. Once expunged, they remained unknown for almost two hundred years. Their re-emergence brought forth a flurry of theories and myths to explain their presence, as well as their untimely disappearance. Some of the various myths and mysteries that surround this historically significant series are identified in this section.

Whither From? A crucial piece of information that has been lost to posterity is the source of these tokens. Although they have been claimed by three different nations as part of their cultural heritage, their actual origins remain a mystery. Specifically, the mysteries of their origins are:

1. Why designed them?
2. Who sank their dies?
3. How many sets of dies were used?
4. Who minted them?
5. Where were they minted?
6. How were they minted?
7. When were they minted?
8. Why were specimens of the same denomination made with both thick and thin planchets?

The passage of time and the paucity of primary sources preclude answering many of these questions with certainty. Yet there are clues submerged in ancient documents that may help in better understanding at least some of the events surrounding this tokenage. These clues and their implications are explored throughout the remainder of this document.

Quantities, Denominations, and Composition. Still other mysteries exist about the quantities and denominations of tokens minted as well as the actual composition of the tokens. It is self-evident that the Somer's Ilands tokenage was intended to mimic the English pound sterling monetary system, but the actual extent of this mimicry remains unknown. Thus, three more mysteries include:

1. Which denominations were minted? Was it a full complement of English coin denominations or just a subset of them?
2. How many of each denomination were minted?
3. What were the tokens made from?

The only clues to these questions lie in the concrete evidence offered by extant specimens. To date, only a subset of possible denominations are represented by surviving specimens of this tokenage. Unfortunately, this does not disprove the minting of other denominations. All that the existing specimens prove is that the twopence, threepence, sixpence, and shilling were minted. Rumors have abounded for ages about the existence of the penny and groat. Yet, absent discovery of a penny or groat specimen, those rumors remain just that: rumors.

Similarly, it is not possible to determine how many of each denomination were manufactured. An approximation of the ratio of denominations minted can be inferred by examining the survival rates of this token series' denominations. Unfortunately, a complete and accurate inventory of surviving specimens does not exist. It is generally accepted that the sixpence and shilling specimens are far more common than twopence or threepence tokens.[14]

Lastly, the composition of the tokens has always been identified as brass. This supposition most likely dates back to Captain John Smith's casual description of them as being "brasse" in his *Generall Historie* in 1624. Since that time, it has been widely accepted that the tokens were struck from brass. However, in the seventeenth century, the definitions of "brass", "copper", and "bronze" were not as distinct as they are today. Consequently, the identification of the tokens' metallic composition as brass must be regarded as a supposition until proven scientifically.

Whence Silver? Two more vexing mysteries surrounding hogge money arose from a single fact: some, but not all, specimens of hogge money have

a light layer of a silver-colored metal (Williams et al. 1997). Much like the unchallenged assumption of the tokens' being brass, this coating has long been assumed to be silver. This assumption has become quite predominant, despite the absence of scientific evidence: virtually every piece of numismatic literature on the subject recognizes that hogge money specimens may be found "silvered" or "unsilvered".

Theories then emerged to explain the purpose of this extraneous metal coating. All such theories were founded on the assumption that the silvery metal was, in fact, silver. For example, it has long been speculated that silvering was done after the initial production run of tokens to enhance their acceptance amongst the colonists. This assumed that the silvering was contemporary to the token's issuance, and that there was some reluctance on the part of the colonists to accept and use them. These assumptions seemed reasonable given that all known specimens are manufactured of a base metal, the English colonists would have been accustomed to hard currency, and the undisputed fact that the tokens quickly ceased circulating on Somers' Ilands.

Unfortunately, as the tokens lay unknown for almost two hundred years after they ceased circulating, no one could say for certain whether this speculation was correct. It is entirely possible that after the tokens ceased circulating, some specimens were silvered to enhance their aesthetic appeal for use as jewelry. On the other hand, only a single, "unsilvered" specimen has been found holed. No "silvered" specimen with a bezel, hole, or other type of damage made in order to convert the token to a piece of jewelry has been found.

There are more mysteries:

1. When was this silver-colored metal applied?
2. Why were the tokens "silvered"?
3. What is the silver-colored metal?

This last point is troubling because it has long been assumed that the metal coating is silver. However, in the absence of conclusive scientific evidence this assumption must be called into question.

Whither Goeth? Perhaps the greatest of all the mysteries surrounding the Somer's Ilands tokenage is what happened to them after they were issued. It doesn't take much research into colonialism to realize that colonies were

systematically bled of any hard currency and any other product of economic value (Faulkner 1954). Thus, circulating currency was always in short supply in those colonies. Evidence of this exists today in the extreme scarcity of colonial tokenage, particularly specimens of high grade (Yeoman 1999). The Somer's Iland colony was no exception. Yet, one cannot ignore the cultural artifact: these tokens utterly disappeared and remained unknown for almost two centuries. Thus, the greatest mystery of all is: why would a colony, desperate for hard currency, quickly abandon such a currency made specifically for it? The answer to this mystery is to be found in human psychology and behavior rather than economics.

The Great Debate!

In addition to the many stubborn mysteries and myths about hogge money that have emerged as people struggled to understand and explain these artifacts, a great debate has emerged in the numismatic literature as to which country's history is more tightly linked to them.

They Are "American"! Conventional wisdom in the US (as documented in various pieces of American numismatic literature) holds that the hogge money issues are an important part of the American colonial era's numismatic heritage.[15] Consequently, American numismatists categorically identify them as the first series in American colonial numismatics.

They Are "British"! On the other side of the pond, as well as in Bermuda, conventional wisdom holds that hogge money is an important part of the British colonial numismatic heritage. They were, according to English and Bermudian numismatic literature, the first examples of British colonial coinage produced for the New World. One recent publication that makes this claim is Williams' 1996 book, *Coins of Bermuda*.[16] As if to add credence to their argument, the authors of this book claim that even an American source (George Evans' book, *History of the U.S. Mint*) admits to the British origins of hogge money. Unfortunately for the credibility of the authors, the material referenced is misinterpreted. Although not specifically cited, it is likely that the authors referenced the following passage in Evans' book, which describes a portion of the US Mint's nascent cabinet of coins:

> There are various specimens of the "pine tree" money of Massachusetts in the Cabinet. Some doubt has arisen as to the species of tree intended, but it is generally accepted as the emblematic pine. This is claimed to be about the second colonial issue, a kind of semi-official coin. The first was from the Bermudas*.

The asterisk at the end of the passage references a footnote that reads: "This issue being made at Sommer Islands, gave the name of 'Sommer money'."

Evans is careful enough to caveat his statements by identifying them as a general claim made by others. More importantly, his claim is based on chronology rather than nationality: he describes them as being the first issue of coinage to appear in the British colonies but does not attribute them as either American or British.

Thus, using Evans' work to substantiate a claim of the British heritage of the Somers' Ilands pieces results in a fatally flawed argument. Evans never made such a claim and appeared generally ignorant of the tokens. Given that he was chronicling the history of the Unites States Mint, one can easily forgive his superficial research on this tangential, if not extraneous, topic.

Which Country Are They From? As the history of the Somers' Ilands colony is further explored, the answer to this great debate will become obvious: both answers are wrong! Hogge money is neither a US nor a British colonial coin. Hogge money is little more than a non-legal-tender private token issued by the Somers' Ilands Company for use within its domain. In other words, it is are nothing more than a metallic form of company scrip. An exploration of the early history of the Somers' Ilands colony provides the context for better understanding hogge money, particularly why it was merely a private tokenage, as well as why it failed as a medium of exchange.

Brief History of the Discovery and Colonization of Somer's Ilands

The archipelago of Bermuda rises jaggedly out of the main Atlantic Ocean. Its rocky shorelines are considered ruggedly beautiful by all that view them—except sailors, of course, who are more concerned with a shoreline's

functionality than aesthetics. The sharp limestone cliffs and shallow coral reefs can be a sailor's nightmare. The rock and coral that constitute Bermuda's shore have claimed their fair share of unsuspecting ships throughout the last five centuries. The occasional hurricane, too, has claimed many a ship in Bermuda's watery proximity.

In the sixteenth century, the uninhabited Bermuda islands were known as the "Ile of the Devilles". The forbidding coastline combined with all sorts of strange sounds emanating from the island, day and night. Legend had it that sailors on nearby ships could hear these devilish sounds over the din of the surf. However, it is more likely that the occasional landing party heard them as they reconnoitered the island but could not identify their sources. Superstitious sailors, lacking a ready explanation for these sounds, attributed them to devils that inhabited the island.[17] A dangerous coastline coupled with an indigenous population of devils was more than enough reason for sailors to stay away from the Iles of the Devilles. As sailors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were fond of saying, "Hell was empty, and all of the devils are here!"

Exploration

Even if the Iles of the Devilles were not worth visiting, they were invaluable to sailors as a navigational aid. Although navigation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made some use of visual reference to celestial bodies, nothing beat a solid, earth-based landmark for telling you exactly where you were! Spanish sailors, in particular, became accustomed to using the Iles of the Devilles as a navigational aid in their trans-Atlantic cruises to the New World.

Posterity has lost any knowledge of the original discovery of the Bermudian islands, but according to the Spanish historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the person credited with their discovery, sometime before 1511, was Captain Juan Bermúdez, who claimed the islands for Spain.[18] His claim was documented in various Spanish maps of this era, which accurately depicted the islands' location in the Atlantic and identified them as Las Barmudas. English translation of such maps created the monikers Bermoothas and Bermoothes. It is likely that the hogs were introduced to the islands by an early Spanish landing party.

For the next one hundred years history records shipwrecked mariners of all nations (French, Portuguese, Spanish, and even the occasional Englishman) being stranded on the islands. In some recorded instances, ships were grounded on sandy shoals and were safely floated off. In other cases, new ships had to be constructed using what could be salvaged from the wreck in addition to native materials. It is possible, too, that other castaways were rescued by passing ships, although no historical references document such a case. Given the reputation of the islands, it is more likely that castaways remained on the islands until they perished, having been assumed lost at sea. Thus, despite hosting the occasional party of shipwreck survivors, the archipelago would remain void of any permanent human settlement until 1609.

The *Sea Adventure.* By 1609, Las Barmudas were well known to mariners, albeit as a place to avoid. The English had been attempting to colonize the New World for several years, though without much success. Sir Walter Raleigh's colony at Roanoke (in present-day North Carolina) had disappeared without a trace, despite considerable investment and personal effort. The new colony at Jamestown (in present-day Virginia) was also in jeopardy, despite being funded by an entire company of investors.[19]

An emergency supply fleet was quickly assembled and dispatched with much-needed food and other supplies for Jamestown. This fleet, known as the Virginia Company's Relief Fleet of 1609, left Plymouth, England on 2 June 1609. Admiral Sir George Somers, an adventurer with the Virginia Company, commanded the fleet. The fleet, according to William Strachey (a writer employed as the Virginia Company's secretary, Strachey was aboard one of the ships with the Relief Fleet), consisted of nine vessels—two small pinnaces and seven "good ships".

The early seventeenth century was a particularly dangerous time in the Atlantic Ocean. In addition to the vicissitudes of the weather and the ships' reliance upon wind as a motive force, there were other, equally daunting, problems. For example, pirates and privateers were all too eager to prey upon individual cargo ships. There was strength in numbers, especially for slow supply ships that were heavily laden with food and other cargoes. The fleet's captains were instructed by Sir Thomas Gates[20] that should they become separated during their voyage, they would rendezvous off

the northern coast of the Ile of the Devilles, and then continue to Virginia together.

All went well until the third week of July. The fleet initially maintained a tight formation, keeping all ships in sight of each other. All went well for approximately seven weeks. Toward the end of July, the fleet was scattered in a large and particularly violent storm. Of the nine ships, only seven would make it to Jamestown. One pinnace, the *Catch,* which was being towed behind the *Sea Adventure,* was lost at sea when the towing hawser snapped during the hurricane. The pinnace, along with its human cargo, was never seen again and presumed sunk by the storm.

During the storm, the sailors realized that the *Sea Adventure* was taking on water. It was not long before the water was deep enough to completely cover two tiers of stacked hogsheads (55 gallon barrels) in its hold. For three days and nights, the crew desperately bailed and pumped in a vain attempt to save the ship. For all their efforts, they could not lower the water level in the ship's hold. Thus, it became obvious that the water was seeping in from between the hull's planks, rather than simply being accumulated rain and/or the result of the occasional wave breaking over the ship.[21] In desperation, some crewmembers crept along the insides of the ship during the hurricane with candles in one hand and dried beef strips in the other. They used the beef to "caulk" any joints that were leaking. Necessity truly is the mother of invention! Despite these valiant efforts, the ship continued taking on water.

On 28 July 1609, battle with the hurricane and the sea ended: the *Sea Adventure* came aground on the jagged reefs surrounding the Ile of the Devilles. More often than not, this incident is described as an accidental, if serendipitous, foundering that delivered them from certain death. As romantically appealing a story that may be, the truth is that Captain Christopher Newport, in command of the *Sea Adventure,* intentionally ran her aground.

Captain Newport knew how low in the water the *Sea Adventure* was sailing as well as how high the waves were. He had become separated from the rest of the fleet and was on his own. Three days of sailing and bailing left his crew exhausted but still in grave danger of slipping beneath the waves. With neither land nor other ship in sight, his only option was to continue sailing and bailing. When land was sighted, his options expanded somewhat. He

could anchor the ship offshore and slowly offload passengers, crew, and cargo using rowboats. Unfortunately, the *Sea Adventure* was still taking on water. Thus, it was highly likely to sink before he could completely offload his stricken vessel.

His last option was the least intuitive, yet the most logical: he deliberately ran the ship aground[22] on the Ile of the Devilles. Running aground might sound a bit extreme, if not self-defeating, but it made perfect sense to a seasoned sailor like Captain Newport. Beaching the ship offered several significant benefits. First, it would ensure that the boat got as close as possible to the shore, which would increase the chances of passengers and crew actually surviving the swim to shore during the hurricane. Second, successfully beaching the ship meant that it would not completely sink. Thus, it would create the luxury of time so that cargo and/or ship parts could be salvaged. Ideally, beaching the ship would create a natural dry-dock, and permit the colonists time to make the necessary repairs to the ship. Besides, with a little luck, the remainder of the fleet might actually see the ship stranded near their rendezvous point and come to their rescue.

Captain Newport's gamble worked, as the ship never really sank. Instead, it was wedged tightly into a V-shaped rock formation that destroyed the hull but held most of the wreckage above the ocean's surface. All hands made it safely to shore, and the crew was able to salvage virtually the entire cargo, including the sail-making equipment and other essential shipbuilding tools.

On the islands, the men found all sorts of artifacts washed ashore from countless and nameless Dutch, Spanish, and French ships that had also fallen victim to the islands' rocky coast. Ancient remains of fire circles, foreign coins, a small clearing planted with tobacco, and even a mainmast from a large sailing ship (displacement was estimated at 300 tons) were also found. Clearly, the island's rough shore had already claimed its fair share of victims, some more slowly than others! This newest batch of shipwrecked settlers claimed the islands for England and the Virginia Company. Apparently, they either did not know, or did not care, that the islands had previously been claimed for both Spain and Portugal.

The *Deliverance* and the *Patience*. It didn't take very long for the castaways to realize that the *Sea Adventure* was damaged beyond repair. The V-shaped

rock formation that had been their salvation was also the death of their ship: the hull had been irreparably damaged.

The new inhabitants of the Ile of the Devilles quickly realized that the maritime superstitions surrounding this archipelago were unfounded. If anything, the islands were a tropical paradise bearing all the bounties that they would need to survive long enough to get to Virginia. Hogs, birds, turtles, and fish, among other species, were in such abundance as to be almost a nuisance to the castaways.

The castaways were also fortunate in that the 150 colonists, destined to augment the population and increase the capabilities of the Jamestown settlement, possessed many invaluable skills. One of the people now stranded on the Ile of the Devilles happened to be Richard Frobisher, a master shipwright. Several carpenters were also among the would-be colonists. During the course of the next ten months, Frobisher set about constructing a new ship, using native cedar wood as well as masts, timbers, and other components salvaged from the stricken *Sea Adventure*. The *Sea Adventure*'s sailors were set to work dismantling what was left of their former ship.

Frobisher's new ship was little more than a pinnace. Its displacement was estimated at 80 tons. It was rather appropriately named the *Deliverance*. The *Deliverance* was waterproofed with an innovative blend of pulverized limestone, old candle wax that had washed ashore from previous shipwrecks, and turtle oil harvested from the islands' burgeoning turtle population.

Construction of the *Deliverance* also may have served as a catalyst for a power struggle between two strong leaders. As the *Sea Adventure* was the fleet's flagship, it carried both Admiral Sir George Somers (who was in command of the fleet) and Sir Thomas Gates, the Governor-elect of the Virginia colony at Jamestown. Gates' commitment to his colony to the west was unwavering. He commandeered the materiel salvaged from the *Sea Adventure* and organized the construction of the *Deliverance*. This ship was designed to deliver the 150 colonists and the remaining supplies to Jamestown.

The crew of the *Sea Adventure* began to suspect that the colonists were going to abandon them on the islands. As experienced sailors, they knew that the *Deliverance* was far too small to carry 150 colonists, plus all of the supplies and provisions that the colonists intended to deliver to Jamestown,

plus the crew of the much larger *Sea Adventure!* Instead, the sailors felt that the colonists regarded them as expendable. Jamestown was less than a week's sailing to the west. The sailors, who were needed to operate and navigate the much larger *Sea Adventure,* were superfluous on a pinnace destined for so short a journey.

These men were sailors, not settlers or farmers. Rather than allow themselves to be abandoned, they removed themselves from Gates' encampment at the site known today as Building Bay, and formed their own camp. Under Somers' leadership, they began construction of their own pinnace. Whereas the colonists under Gates were free to pick over the carcass of the *Sea Adventure,* not so much as a single plank was allowed the sailors (who had salvaged them!) as they constructed their own pinnace. This ship was aptly named the *Patience.* The *Patience* was, not surprisingly, even smaller than the *Deliverance.*

On 30 March 1610, the *Deliverance* and the *Patience* set sail for Jamestown. They carried as much food as the tiny ships could possibly carry. Along with the remaining supplies from the *Sea Adventure,* they loaded as much water, live hogs, and fresh produce as they could carry.

It may seem odd that both ships sailed for Jamestown, especially given the rift between the colonists and the sailors that had formed during their ten months on the Devil's Islands. However, it must be remembered that even though the Relief Fleet was touted as a humanitarian effort to relieve the suffering at Jamestown, it had a more mundane purpose. The Relief Fleet and the entire colony at Jamestown were funded by the adventurers. The adventurers were the British capitalists that jointly owned the Virginia Company. They invested in Jamestown to earn a profit. As an adventurer, Admiral Somers likely intended to see what goods, if any, could be brought back to England from Jamestown and sold to mitigate the loss of the *Sea Adventure.*

Upon the departure of the *Patience* and the *Deliverance,* two men, Christopher Carter and Edward Waters, remained hidden on the island. It has been speculated that they remained at the urging of Sir George Somers, an adventurer who recognized the potential value of this misunderstood archipelago. Adding credence to this speculation is the rapidity with which Admiral Sir George Somers volunteered to return to the islands that would soon bear his name.

On to Jamestown. The *Patience* and the *Deliverance* arrived in Jamestown on 24 May 1610. Nearly a year before, the other seven ships from the Relief Fleet had all made it to Jamestown. After discharging their cargo (human and material) the ships returned to England with news of the loss of Somers, Gates, and the others aboard the *Sea Adventure* and the *Catch*. The sight awaiting these erstwhile rescuers at Jamestown was not a welcome one. Despite the successful resupply effort by the other seven ships of the Relief Fleet of 1609, the colony was in ruins.

Of the 450[23] healthy, well-equipped, well-supplied, and well-armed colonists that Captain John Smith left in Jamestown upon his return to England, only sixty survived the winter of 1609–10. The others had all been claimed by disease or starvation or killed by the Indians. With Smith's departure, discipline broke down and the hard work needed to sustain the colony all but ceased. No one had the leadership skills that were necessary to keep the colony functioning: they were consuming the existing supplies of food without making serious attempts at becoming self-sufficient. When winter set in, the colonists were desperately short of food, and the Indians were no longer very helpful.

The supplies brought on the two new pinnaces didn't last very long: the pinnaces had a very limited cargo capacity, and Gates had not expected to find Jamestown in such dire straits. Shortly after they arrived, a fresh relief fleet (commanded by Lord De La Ware, Captain-General of Virginia) arrived with more colonists and supplies. Even these were not sufficient to save the colony.

The Indians agreed to help by supplying corn to the colony, but they wanted something in trade. They accepted an offer of live hogs for their corn. In need of more hogs to consummate this deal, Admiral Sir George Somers set sail for the Ile of the Devilles on 8 June 1610 in the *Patience*. Somers was accompanied by another pinnace on his journey to the Somers' Ilands, although the two ships were separated by a squall at sea en route. The second ship, commanded by Thomas Argall, returned safely to Jamestown. The colonists there assumed, yet again, that Somers had been lost at sea when the *Patience* failed to return to Jamestown following the storm.

The storm drove the *Patience* northward toward the region known today as New England. Although there are no historical accounts, it is believed

that Somers and his crew spent the summer in or near New England repairing their vessel (Kennedy 1971).[24] They finally arrived at the Ile of the Devilles in late autumn of 1610. Waters and Carter met them and offered assistance in securing provisions for Virginia.

Unfortunately, within days of his arrival, Somers fell ill. It quickly became obvious that his end was near. Somers left detailed instructions with his nephew, Captain Matthew Somers, that his body was to be buried on these isles. More importantly, he urged his nephew to continue with the mission of mercy[25] and get the much-needed provisions to Jamestown. Upon his death, Somers' body was buried in the vicinity of today's city of St. George in Bermuda. Matthew, however, had a change of heart: he disinterred his uncle's body, embalmed it, and secreted it aboard the *Patience*. He then reburied his uncle's heart and entrails in the same grave he took the body from Captain Somers then set sail for England.

Once again, Waters and Carter remained on their islands. This time, though, they had company. Edward Chard also remained on the islands. Together, they would inhabit the islands in the name of England: its smallest inhabited colony! These three kings would jointly rule their domain.

The Three Kings of Somers' Ilands. Carter, Waters, and Chard wasted no time. They cleared land, planted crops, cut timber for sturdy cabins, fished, and salted hog meat for the upcoming winter. They also explored the islands and looked for anything that might be of value, including pearls or coins and other material that occasionally washed ashore from long-forgotten shipwrecks.

During one such exploration, the three men discovered a large quantity of ambergris.[26] This discovery ruined the previously amicable relationship between these three kings, as each had a different, selfish idea about how to the prize should be divided! Eventually, they came to an uneasy peace (although not until Carter hid their guns!) and began to hatch plans to return to England. They had been alone on the islands for over two years. No one had returned for them, and their clothes had long since rotted into tatters. Perhaps, the *Patience* had not made it to Jamestown. If that were the case, then no one really knew they were still alive, much less where they were. Besides, they needed to sell the ambergris to someone!

Then Came the Settlers

Together, Carter, Waters, and Chard built a small ship. But, as they were preparing to sail, they spied an English ship on the horizon. This ship, the *Plough,* arrived bearing supplies and fifty settlers on 11 July 1612. The *Patience,* it seems, had safely returned to England. Tales of the lush beauty of the islands "discovered" by Admiral Sir George Somers quickly spread and were enough to convince the English that they were worth colonizing. Although Sir George was deceased, his trading company still existed. The Crown recognized this company's claim to the lands and renamed them Somers' Ilands posthumously in his honor.

The *Plough* brought settlers, supplies, and Richard Moore, the first appointed governor of the Somers' Ilands plantation. Moore, upon inspecting the gardens of the three kings, and seeing the abundance of fish, hogs, birds, and turtles, was convinced that the new colonists could easily live off the land. Thus, he began an ambitious plan of public works that emphasized the building of roads and forts.

Then Came the Settlers' Problems. Developing civil infrastructure such as forts, lookout towers, docks, roads, and public buildings all came at a price. There were only fifty settlers, plus the three "kings," but there was so much work to do! The highest priority was to ensure a future supply of food. In fact, most of the colonists were sent to farm the lands. A typical agreement between an individual and the company (more accurately, a specific company adventurer) would result in both parties sharing all produce equally. The company would then pay 20% of its share as tribute to the Crown. Thus, the worker's contractual compensation was based upon farming.

Moore's decision to divert resources away from farming was likely based on the expectation that he would be able to pay his subjects for their labors. In the company's instructions (a letter commissioning him as governor of Somers' Ilands) to Moore, dated 27 April 1612, the company stipulated that a base-metal coinage would be sent out on the next supply ship. They went so far as to indicate maximum daily wages to be paid for skilled and unskilled laborers (Faulkner 1954)![27] Unfortunately, the base metal coinage did not arrive as planned.

Without Sir George at the helm and saddled with the financial burden of bootstrapping a new colony, his trading company foundered. On 25

November 1612 (after the *Plough* arrived with the initial group of settlers), the adventurers of the Virginia Company bought the rights to Sir George Somers' trading company. Somers' company never sent the base coinage promised to Moore in his Commission Instructions.

The Virginia Company continued to experience financial losses in Virginia. Worse, after two years investment in the Somers' Ilands, they had yet to realize any profit from that colony. Consequently, they relinquished patent rights to the Somers' Ilands back to the Crown in 1614. Amidst this financial strife, delivering a base-metal coinage to Moore (a promise made by their predecessors) was probably the least of the Virginia Company adventurers' concerns.

In 1615, Governor Moore returned to England aboard the supply ship *Welcome*. The arrival of the *Welcome* was disturbing to Governor Moore because it contained no messages or instructions to him from the adventurers. Concerned about the adventurers' support for his governorship, he returned to England to confront them personally. In his stead, six colonists were chosen to function as Acting Governor during his absence. It was agreed that each would take turns serving, one month at a time. This period has become known as the Misrule of the Six Governors, and was characterized by ruthless, tyrannical, and back-stabbing behaviors by the various governors.

The Company for the Plantacioun of the Somers' Ilands. Despite the financial troubles, not everyone in the Virginia Company had abandoned hope in the Somers' Ilands. Many of the adventurers still recalled the tales of lushness, extensive wildlife resources, and held out hope of discovering pearls, ambergris, or some other valuable commodity. These believers petitioned King James I to sell them the rights to the Somers' Ilands for colonization and development. On 29 June 1615, King James I granted that petition and granted exclusive rights to the territory to The Company for the Plantacioun of the Somers' Ilands. This company, and their royal charter, would remain in effect until 1684, when the islands came under the direct authority of the Crown.

This charter permitted the company to claim the rights to any non-agricultural commodity that they deemed of value. This included, but was not limited to, ambergris, pearls, whale oil, and bounty from shipwrecks.

More importantly for numismatists, the charter also explicitly authorized the company to manufacture and use a local coinage. As a local coinage, the issues could not be exported, nor used to pay taxes. The coins were only legal tender for intracolony commerce.

Upon being granted their charter and patent rights, the Somers' Ilands Company began making plans and preparations to expand their colony. They commissioned a new governor, a former planter from Virginia named Dan Tucker. Tucker arrived in the Somers' Ilands on 16 May 1616 aboard the supply ship *George*. The company's instructions to Governor Tucker indicate that the long-promised base-metal coins were included with the rest of the supplies aboard the *George*. These coins were to be used for payment of wages to company employees. Unfortunately, this coinage appeared to be a classic case of "too little, too late" as they were delivered after approximately four years of accrued ill will toward the adventurers. The colonists quickly ridiculed the new coins by calling them "Hogge Money".[28]

Far from assuaging the embittered colonists, the coinage served only to exacerbate an already adversarial relationship. The colonists, having been accustomed to England's precious-metal coinage, regarded a base-metal coinage as an insult. Without any inherent value, the utility of the coins was automatically limited to the islands. This was, of course, the adventurers' plan.

Socioeconomics of Somer's Iland

Anyone familiar with the economics or numismatics of mercantile colonialism will be aware that colonies of the British realm were desperate for hard currency. The Crown's policies, particularly mercantilism, were designed to enrich the Crown's treasury by siphoning hard currencies and other valuable commodities out of the colonies. Thus, manufacturing a coinage for specific use within a mercantile colony (such as hogge money) directly contradicted the purpose of mercantilism.

Despite this contradiction, the adventurers of the Somers' Ilands Company did just that: they manufactured a series of base-metal tokens specifically for use within their land patent. Unfortunately for the colonists, the delivery of those tokens lagged the adventurers' promise by almost four years! By the time hogge money was introduced, the Somers' Ilands economy was already reasonably well developed and featured a complex

system of exchange mechanisms. The colony's economy was based on a series of exchange media including tobacco, precious-metal coins from foreign countries, bills of trade, and barter.

Given the variety of exchange media available in the colony, and the company's financial disincentive to invest in a circulating currency, one must wonder why they bothered to create such a local currency. The answer is that hogge money was never intended to be a universal medium of exchange in the colony: it was intended solely to compensate colonists for non-agricultural labors performed on behalf of the company. Non-agricultural labors were essential in developing the infrastructure necessary to support a large-scale plantation, yet such labors did not necessarily generate anything that could be sold for profit. The adventurers conceived of hogge money—private, base-metal tokens—as a means of paying for such labors.

This section provides a brief overview of the socioeconomic environment of the Somers' Ilands colony including the complex (and highly adversarial) interrelationship of the Crown, company, and colonists. This overview enables the reader to appreciate hogge money in the context into which it was introduced, circulated briefly, and failed miserably.

The Emergence of Mercantilism

Developing a colony half a world away was not a trivial undertaking. Establishing such colonies was an enormously capital-intensive task. Monarchies, still in their infancy, could ill afford to drain their treasuries in the hopes of someday profiting from the exploitation of distant lands. A nation whose treasury was decreasing rather than increasing would be weakened and might not be able to muster enough resources to defend itself. Out of this royal dilemma was born mercantilism.

The new monarchic socioeconomic model featured a primitive three-sector economy. The sectors included the government, merchants, and the workers. Each played a distinct role in the emerging mercantilist colonies.

Mercantilism was a merchant-based form of capitalism. The way it worked was simple. A monarch would grant monopoly rights to a region's resources to any individual (or group of individuals organized as a company) that was willing to risk personal wealth to exploit that region. The Crown would simply tax any economic gain at a flat rate of 20% (known

as the Royal Fifth). In this manner, the royal treasury could grow without risk to the monarchy. The risks were exclusively borne by the merchants although, in theory, monarchs offered merchants the protection of national defense forces, should a mercantilist colony require defense from hostile forces.[29]

The merchant would then recruit a labor force to inhabit his land patent, and invest whatever resources were needed to develop the civil infrastructure necessary to exploit the various natural resources of the land. The inhabitants of a merchant's land patents were known as colonists.

The colonists' role in a mercantilist colony was the most important of all: they provided the labor that developed the economic potential of their land and produced articles of value that were brought back to the crown lands for sale. Thus, they were the very foundation of the uneven, three-way partnership of mercantilism. Unfortunately, the colonists were also the only guaranteed losers in this partnership. The metropolitan merchants used the colonies to increase their own wealth by siphoning wealth (in gold, silver, gemstones, agricultural products, furs, or anything else that could be sold for profit) from the colonies. The crown was glad to accept its 20% of this bounty. The colonists, quite literally, struggled just to stay alive.

The interrelationship, and subsequent flow of benefits and economic wealth, between the Crown, merchant, and colonist was highly lopsided. The Crown obviously received tremendous benefit for doing little more than merely granting exclusive land patents to merchants. Merchants invested considerable sums of money and time and effort to extract wealth from their land patents. The humble colonist was the means by which such extraction of wealth was made possible. Ironically, the relationship between the colonist and the merchant closely resembled the lord/serf relationship of the feudal manorial system. About the only difference was that the role of the landed lords was assumed by moneyed merchants.

In fairness, there were actually several different classes of colonists, particularly at Somers' Ilands. Some colonists were close relatives of adventurers, who inhabited their relative's land claim in the colony. Having a trusted relative on site was the best way (short of actually risking personal safety) for an adventurer to actively protect his interests in the colony.

Other colonists signed letters of indenture, effectively making them indentured servants to either the company or one of its adventurers. The

terms and conditions of the letters of indenture varied widely. Typically, though, a mutually agreed-upon service period, for example, seven years, was established. The indenturer would absorb all costs of transporting the indentured servant to the colony. The colonist would agree to provide specific types of labor in return for specific types of payments. Payments were usually stipulated as meat,[30] food, water, and clothing. At the end of the indenture period, the colonist was released from the contract and, possibly, even received land grants from the indenturer (Smith 1964).

Other people volunteered to inhabit the colony as sharecroppers. Sharecroppers differed from indentured servants in that they were free; they worked land owned by a merchant of their own free will. In return for the right to farm the land, the sharecroppers agreed to share all proceeds with the merchant. The merchant was not obligated to provide anything except the land to the sharecropper. Thus, the sharecroppers had to provide their own housing, fertilizers, tools, food, clothing, water, etc. using the proceeds realized from the sale of their share of the crops.

Slaves were yet another class of people that could frequently be found in colonies. Slaves were property. As property, their owners were responsible for providing all the necessities to keep the slave healthy and productive. All of the produce that resulted from the slave's efforts belonged to the slave owner. In the Somers' Ilands, slave owners could be the company itself, or individual adventurers. Virtually any free person could own slaves, provided that person could afford the purchase price of the slave plus the ongoing "maintenance" expenses.

Regardless of which class the colonist was in, life in a mercantile colony was a grueling experience. Most viewed colonial life as a chance to escape, a chance to start over again. Motivation for a new beginning might have been the high rates of poverty, unemployment, disease, or even a criminal past. Whatever the motives and aspirations, colonists would quickly discover that the economics of mercantilism were biased against them.

The Tension on Somers' Ilands

A natural tension existed between the colonists and the Somers' Ilands Company by virtue of their relationship and the subsequent conflicting needs. The merchants or proprietors of the company had to make a substantial capital investment to launch a new colony. The colonists were

human beings who were desperate to better their lives. They were even more desperate to stay alive. The adventurers' need to quickly establish a revenue stream, if not turn an outright profit, was manifested in direct and immediate pressure on the colonists to produce economic value. Such value, according to the company's charter, was to be primarily agricultural. Unfortunately, agriculture tends to be labor-, space-, and time-intensive. There was, quite simply, no way to accelerate the time to harvest. Worse (for the adventurers), they were obligated to keep the colonists adequately provisioned until they could start feeding themselves from harvested produce. Thus, bootstrapping a new colony could be very capital-intensive.

The adventurers of the Somers' Ilands company thought they had this game beat two different ways:

1. They believed the flora and fauna of their new land patent were so abundant as to almost completely relieve them of the burden of providing for their colonists.
2. Their land patent had other tremendous resources, including cedar, exotic bird feathers, ambergris, pearls, and untold quantities of gold and silver that had, no doubt, washed ashore over the years. Bounty was theirs for the taking they believed.

So fervent were the adventurers in these beliefs that they refused to accept news to the contrary that was emanating from the Somers' Ilands. The adventurers remained adamant in their beliefs and became increasingly reluctant to sink additional funds and provisions into the colony without some tangible returns. Thus, the natural tension between colonist and adventurer was poised to devolve into outright conflict.

Trade with Other Colonies. One of the first manifestations of the colonists' mutinous behaviors was their disregard for the company's royally chartered monopoly. According to the charter, which was granted by the King of England, the Somers' Ilands Company was the only entity that could engage in trade with the colonists in the Somers' Ilands. Unfortunately for the colonists, the logistics of supporting a colony several thousand miles away from home in the age of sailing vessels all but precluded any regularity of supply. The supply ships arrived in the Somers' Ilands only once or twice per year. Exacerbating this irregularity was the increasing reluctance of the

adventurers. Not having the luxury of time to wait for the supply ships, the colonists sought more creative solutions to their needs.

Specifically, they began to trade with their neighbors in Jamestown, Virginia. Technically, as the Jamestown colony was the property of the Virginia Company and not the Somers' Ilands Company, trade between the colonies was illegal, according to the charters of both the Virginia Company and the Somers' Ilands Company. Yet, both companies shared many adventurers in common, and the two colonies' histories and inhabitants were intertwined. Thus, the company turned a blind eye to trade with Jamestown.

However, the colonists of the Somers' Ilands also developed trade routes with islands in the West Indies, including Jamaica, Turks and Caicos, and Barbados. This activity, too, was illegal but the adventurers were hard-pressed to stop it from England. Unlike the trade with Jamestown, this form of trade was completely outside the adventurers' purview. Consequently, it was tantamount to thievery and did little to improve the adventurers' attitudes.

Pirates and Privateers. A more problematic trade relationship arose when the Somers' Ilands colonists began trading with the pirates that roamed the Atlantic and Caribbean. The relationship was mutually beneficial. Pirates, at least successful ones, had an abundance of hard currency, jewels, slaves, and other valuable commodities. Pirates would exchange some of these ill-gotten gains for fresh water, meats, and vegetables, as well as safe refuge to make any necessary repairs to their ships. Such activities increased in frequency until they became an issue of security to Virginia.

The court records of the Virginia colony (Kingsbury 1906, 475–476) demonstrate that the inhabitants of that area were extremely concerned with the unsavory characters that the colonists of Somers' Ilands were consorting with. Having a way station so near to their colony where pirates and other warring parties could resupply was not a comforting thought. The Somers' Ilands, they believed, were a magnet that attracted all sorts of undesirable ships to their vicinity. Virginians felt that the actions of the Somers' Ilands colonists directly threatened their supply routes with England. Worse, consorting with pirates could trigger war between England and any countries whose ships were being attacked by the pirates. Half a world away from home was no place to be when war with a foreign nation broke out!

News of the Somers' Ilands colonists' trade with pirates and privateers was not well received by the adventurers. Unfortunately, they were hardly in a position to issue orders to cease and desist. One could argue that the adventurers had fostered such behaviors by:

- Not keeping their colony properly supplied
- Not aggressively pursuing the colony's self-sufficiency through crop diversification
- Aggressively extracting any economic value they could from the Ilands

More importantly, the company (as well as the Crown!) either directly commissioned privateers or hired known privateers for "legitimate" seafaring purposes, including the sailing of supply vessels to and from colonies. Once out on the open seas, any ship flying the colors of a different country became fair game, regardless of what their explicit mission was. Thus, banning the colonists from admitting such unsavory types into their harbors would quickly reveal their hypocrisy.

Privateers and Wrecking Crews. The economic hardships on Somers' Ilands created yet another problem: the wrecking crews.[31] Colonists would row out to foreign ships that had become beached under the guise of lending assistance to the stranded mariners. Once aboard in quantity, however, they would quickly liberate anything of value: including the ship's timbers! So efficient were these ad hoc wrecking crews that a beached ship was usually reduced to an unsalvageable skeleton within a couple of days.

Although entirely self-contained within the Ilands, the repercussions of the wrecking crews rivaled those of the privateers. Foreign ambassadors frequently had to beseech the English Crown for reparations as well as the repatriation of its sailors and other subjects that became stranded on the Somers' Ilands. Such stranded foreigners were forced to rent housing, which quickly depleted any valuables that had escaped the attention of the wrecking crews.

Colonial Media of Exchange

The Somers' Ilands Company adventurers had long realized the need for multiple, specialized, skill sets in their colony. Their plantation would be

in obvious need of planters (farmers), but it would also need coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and soldiers as well as other, less obvious, tradesmen. Such skills posed an interesting dilemma in the context of a mercantilist colony; they were essential to the economic viability of the colony, yet they did not necessarily produce anything salable or taxable. For example, such workers manufactured the crates and barrels for shipping the local produce and constructed docks and warehouses, which were necessary for storing and shipping the produce. Such activities benefited the planters but were not directly salable or taxable.

These tradesmen could also apply their skills in other types of public works projects that benefited the planters indirectly. Examples of such labors include construction of roads, churches, forts, and other public infrastructure that were needed in the colony. Soldiers were also needed to man the forts and lookout towers that dotted the perimeter of the colony and to function as the first line of defense against foreign attack or invasion (Kennedy 1971, 70–73).[32] These labors were much more difficult to place a social value on and compensate for, yet were essential to the colony. Clearly, the company needed a way to compensate these men for their labors.

Problems with Multiple Exchange Media. In the absence of an officially sanctioned medium of exchange, the colonists were extremely creative in developing various media of exchange, as well as rates of exchange between dissimilar media. They bartered with each other or exchanged other accepted forms of currency such as tobacco, trade bills,[33] and even foreign precious metal coins (when they were available) to facilitate their daily commerce. The result was absolute chaos.

Establishing fair and universal rates of exchange between such diverse and dissimilar media of exchange proved to be problematic for the relatively uneducated farmers and other inhabitants of the colony. Adding to the chaos was the systematic siphoning off of what little hard currency existed on the islands. Such currency was funneled back to England for taxes and/or the company's profits. Simply stated, trade between the colonists was hindered by a lack of hard currency, and this was damaging morale and lowering productivity. Lower productivity translated into reduced economic activity and subsequently reduced the company's profits and the Crown's tax revenues.

Of course, illicit trade outside the auspices of the colonist/company relationship did occur. Given the tiny size (20 square miles) and volcanic origin of the Bermudian archipelago, natural resources were limited. There were no local deposits of valuable minerals or metals to be exploited. About the only option available to colonists to generate hard currency was trade with pirates and/or other enemies of the Crown, or becoming pirates themselves (Kennedy 1964)![34] Another, more palatable course of action, was to barter with Jamestown and other colonies. Such activity, of course, did not generate any hard currency.

What to Do? The Somers' Ilands Company was faced with the interrelated problems of the deteriorating morale of the colonists, the increased visitation of Bermudian ports by pirates and enemies of the crown, and the need to stimulate economic activity within their colony to generate both profits and taxes. The obvious solution, at least in the minds of the company owners, was to introduce a formal monetary system to the Ilands. But as simple a solution as that may have sounded, implementation was far more nettlesome.

Despite recognizing the obvious need for currency in their colony, there were some logistical hurdles to overcome. First, the very nature of a mercantilist colony drained that colony of its resources. Introducing a precious metal coinage was antithetical to the adventurers' goals: it would have reduced their profits! Allowing the currency of England to circulate in a colony was undesirable for two reasons.

1. It would have partially reversed the flow of economic wealth from the colony to the motherland.
2. It would have created the opportunity for colonists to trade outside the auspices of the Somers' Ilands Company.

The answer was to create a private legal tender for use just within the Somers' Ilands colony. One minor problem was that coining money was a royal prerogative. Trespassing on this prerogative would usually result in a fatally-stretched neck.

Coining Money: The Prerogative Royall

In seventeenth century England, coinage was the royal prerogative of the ruling monarch. Regal coinage was manufactured using precious metals

from the Royal Treasury, and featured indicia of the issuing ruler. Typically, such issues were manufactured from either gold or silver.

Due to the high value of gold and silver, attempts to issue low-denomination coins of the same purity resulted in coins that verged on being too small to be practical to manufacture and use. Thus, monarchs faced a quandary: how do you provide low-denomination coins to facilitate commerce, given the high costs of precious metals?

Queen Elizabeth had the answer: copper coins. She assented to the private manufacture of a copper token for the city of Bristol in 1577. These tokens could not be used outside the city, yet they achieved a modest degree of success as a low-denomination circulating medium. Elizabeth would later grant similar privileges to the cities of Oxford and Worcester (Rawlings 1898, 214). Unfortunately, although the answer to her problems was obvious, ego appeared to have clouded her judgment. Elizabeth I apparently felt a base-metal coin was not suited to bear her image. Noble metals for a noble image! Thus, the obvious answer to the inflationary dilemma, widespread use of copper for low-denomination regal coinage, never entered the Queen's feasible solution set.

The Crown Can Grant Rights to Coin "Local" Money. King James I[35] (1603–1625) recognized the benefits of copper for coinage, as Scotland had been minting regal coins made from copper for centuries (Rawlings 1898, 157–160).[36] In fact, he had authorized Scottish penny and twopence coins to be minted from copper during his reign as King James VI of Scotland. Despite this history with copper regal coinage, James apparently inherited Elizabeth's aversion to such base metals for English coins. Perhaps this was symptomatic of his sensitivity to the disparate cultures in the two kingdoms he was trying to unify. The numismatic heritage of his reign bears holds several tributes to his efforts to unify England and Scotland by unifying their monetary systems (Rawlings 1898, 70–71).[37]

Sensing that the English were not ready for a base metal coinage, issuing a regal coinage of copper may have damaged his popular support in England. He was not, however, above profiting from the manufacture of copper coins. He castigated the Bristol tokens, made with Elizabeth's assent, as "made in derogation of the king's prerogative royall" yet, in 1613 (*Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History* 1998),[38] he passed a

law that enabled the Crown to grant patents for the private production of copper coins. Ostensibly, the Crown could collect some royalty or commission on regally patented private coinage, whereas Elizabeth's passive assent garnered no revenues.

The merchants that were granted royal patents to privately manufacture coinage were burdened with finding a market for their products[39] and could not use regal indicia on their tokens. Such grants were rare but did occur. Two mercantile companies, the Virginia and Somers' Ilands Companies, were both granted royal patents to produce local coinage. These patents were granted in their charters, although the Virginia Company did not exercise its right.[40] This right was originally granted in the 1609 Charter of the Commonwealth of Virginia, where it remained unexercised until the late eighteenth century. This rare privilege was then extended to Somers' Ilands, by virtue of the Virginia Company's claim to that archipelago.[41]

Worthless "Money" for Somers' Ilands. Unlike the Virginia company's colony to the west (Jamestown), there was no indigenous population in the Somers' Ilands. Notwithstanding the negative implications of cohabitation with a potentially hostile people, the Virginians were able to assimilate into a pre-existing socioeconomic system. The Somers' Ilands colonists had no such opportunity and were on their own. For this reason, the adventurers of the Somers' Ilands Company recognized the need for a private money and acted upon this rare privilege granted them in their royal charter.

The Private Tokens of Somers' Ilands

Hogge money, more properly identified as the private tokens of the Somers' Ilands Company, has inspired the full spectrum of human emotion. Upon their introduction, they were scoffed at and eventually rejected by a disgruntled populace. Hogge money circulated briefly and apparently somewhat grudgingly. Mysteriously, the tokens disappeared from circulation and almost disappeared completely. In the nineteenth century, coincident with the emergence of American numismatic pursuits, badly corroded specimens began to emerge from their centuries-long slumber.

These curious specimens immediately caught the fancy of Bermudians, historians, and, of course, numismatists. Unfortunately, after having been forgotten for so long, little was known about them. Speculation and con-

jecture ran rampant, particularly about why they had ceased circulating so quickly and so completely. Having explored the socioeconomic context within which they circulated and failed, the next logical step in dispelling speculation and conjecture is to examine how hogge money came to be.

Money Versus Currency

The hogge money issues are widely considered "money." Even their popular name implies that they were "money". Money, however, is a legal tender that is sanctioned by a governing body and/or monetary authority for use in satisfying all debts, public and private within their domain. It is clear from the numismatic and historical bodies of evidence[42] that the Somers' Ilands hogge money was not a legal tender. It was sanctioned as, and designed to be, nothing more than a private medium of exchange (or currency) for use within the Somers' Ilands Company's land patent.

For any currency (legal tender or otherwise) to be successful, the users must share a perception of its value. Value can either be tangible or intangible.

Coins with Intrinsic Value. Coins that possess intrinsic value are manufactured of precious metal, usually either gold or silver. Precious metals, historically, are universally prized for their rarity, beauty, and even utility. Thus, they are ideally suited for manufacturing coins with inherent, tangible value. Precious metal coins were readily accepted by virtually all, regardless of their manufacturer. Evidence of this lies in the vast historical evidence of piracy at sea, as well as historical accounts of foreign precious-metal coins circulating in colonial settlements. In both circumstances, precious-metal coins of even enemies were readily accepted, if not violently seized.

Coins Without Intrinsic Value. Coins that possess intangible value typically are made using base metals. Thus, they contain far less intrinsic value than their face value would indicate. Such coins represent the value that their issuer deems but do not contain that value. The value of fiduciary money lies in the faith that the users of that money have in its issuer. Such money circulates solely because everyone believes that it has worth. Fiduciary coinage can be a highly successful form of money, provided that all users of that money share a common perception of the coins' value. Suc-

cessful tokenization of a monetary system usually requires a very stable and mature socioeconomic environment.

Usually, the intangible shared values that drive the social acceptance of a tokenized currency are positive values. For example, value can be based on a common faith in a deity or confidence in the money's issuer. It is also possible, though not common, for a tokenized medium of exchange to circulate successfully based upon a shared negative value. One example of a shared negative value that could drive a currency's acceptance is fear. Fear is, arguably, one of the strongest motivators known to man. As such, it is feasible (but not very desirable) that a society can be sufficiently motivated by fear to accept an otherwise worthless currency.

Hogge money was made from a base metal. There is no disputing that hogge money contained little, if any, inherent value. The economy of the nascent Somers' Ilands colony was anything but mature and stable. In fact, one could effectively argue that the Somers' Ilands Company cared little about the plight of its colonists. As such, there would appear to be no basis for shared trust or faith in the issuer as would be requisite for a fiduciary currency to be successful in a bullionist environment. Given that hogge money enjoyed no readily apparent source of value (either intrinisic or intangible), one must wonder why it circulated at all. Historical and numismatic evidence demonstrates that hogge money did, in fact, circulate in the Somers' Ilands. It just didn't circulate very long.

Private Tokens of Somers' Ilands

The first reference to a private, local coinage for the Somers' Ilands appeared in the 27 April 1612 instructions[43] by the Somers' Ilands Company that pronounced Richard Moore the first governor of the Somers' Ilands. These instructions were penned several months before the first colonists actually set sail for the islands. Curiously, this document also fixed the maximum daily wages for the colonists. In somewhat modernized transcription, these instructions read:

> We do hereby ordain that such persons, workmen, or labourers as shall at any time be employed by you for our business in the said Plantation, you shall give unto them such reasonable day wages as in your discretion you shall esteem them worthy to have deserved; so that exceed not XXd. [twenty

> pence] for a workman and 12d. [a shilling] for a labourer, for which purpose by the next supply [ship is implied, but not explicitly stated] there shall be a Coin sent unto you...together with the rates and value thereof. And in the meantime to cause true notes to be kept of whatsoever shall grow due to any for there [sic] said day labor, as also for all provisions delivered them out of the Store at such reasonable rates as you think fit.

This declaration is interesting for several reasons. First, and foremost, it identifies the raison d'être for hogge money. The phrase "employed by you for our business in the said Plantation" explicitly acknowledges the purpose for which the coinage was created and the governor's role in hiring labor for public works projects. Thus, long before the Somers' Ilands Company's first supply ship arrived, the adventurers planned on creating a private coinage that would be used to pay non-agricultural laborers to develop public infrastructure.

Another implication is that the adventurers fully expected that the governor would employ laborers before they could provide a means to pay them: they charged the governor with keeping track of all monies due to the laborers. In other words, they instructed the governor to pay his workers with "I.O.U.s"!

A more subtle implication of this passage is the identification of denominations that would be needed by the paymaster. Twelve pence, better known as a shilling, was a standard denomination in the seventeenth century. Paying a laborer for a day's wages was a relatively straightforward matter of handing him a shilling. However, 20 pence was an odd figure that would require smaller denominations. Thus, paying a workman his daily wages might require a shilling, a sixpence (or two threepences), and a twopence. Alternately, that workman could have received a shilling and two groats. Without exhaustively examining all of the potential combinations of coins that could have been used to pay a workman, it should be sufficient to state that a workman's daily wages likely drove the selection of coin denominations in the Somers' Ilands.

The Right to Manufacture Private Tokens. The right to manufacture and use a local coinage that was granted to the Somers' Ilands Company by the king was not unlimited. For example, the local coinage had to be truly local. The coinage could not be used for payments to external trad-

ing partners; nor was it legal tender for taxes or any other purpose that would result in the export of that coinage from Somers' Ilands. As such, the coinage alluded to in Moore's 1612 instructions was nothing more than a base-metal company scrip.[44] Given the colonists' tremendous need for hard currency to facilitate transactions of all kinds (internal, external, and tax payments), the Somers' Ilands Company was faced with a dilemma. How could they ensure that the coinage remained truly local? The answer was remarkably simple: make the coins out of a nearly worthless base metal. Base metal coinage offered multiple benefits. First, the adventurers could be fairly certain that the coins would not leave the islands. Foreign trade partners would only accept money with intrinsic value; they simply would not accept base-metal coins. Another benefit of manufacturing base-metal coinage was the minimization of the capital investment that the Somers' Ilands Company would need to make. Needlessly tying up capital in the form of local precious metal coinage to facilitate intra-colonial trade would only reduce the company's profitability.

Ultimately, the selection of a base metal for the Somers' Ilands coins appears to have been a regal decision. King James would only grant patents permitting the private manufacture of copper coinage (Grierson 1975). As such, copper was really the only choice for the Somers' Ilands coinage.[45] More importantly, such coinage would almost certainly have been manufactured privately. Copper coinage had been manufactured privately in at least three English cities by 1616: Bristol, Oxford, and Worcester. Thus, the adventurers had several options for outsourcing the production of their tokens.

Private manufacturers of coinage in the seventeenth century were, typically, more concerned with turning a profit from their operation than keeping accurate records for posterity. Thus, the absolute lack of historical data surrounding the manufacture of the Somers' Ilands coinage is logical in the context of private manufacture.

Designing the Tokens. It is highly likely that the adventurers of the Somers' Ilands Company were keenly motivated to ensure that their private money could not be mistaken by anyone as anything but a private token made for their colony. Their conundrum was an interesting one: the coinage had to be familiar enough to the English colonists to be readily assimilated and

used, yet different enough to avoid any appearance of being counterfeit coins of the realm.

Thus, they used the denominations of the English monetary system, yet featured locally significant devices on their private coinage. The same primary obverse and reverse devices used on all denominations, although some minor features were omitted from the smaller diameter denominations. None of the devices on either design would have anything in common with English coinage, except for the stated values. English coinage, being a royal issuance, customarily bore the reigning monarch's portrait on the obverse as well as a date and certain inscriptions reinforcing that the monarch was God-given (*Dei Gratia,* or D.G., for example). None of these indicia were present on the Somers' Iland coinage. In fact, they were explicitly labeled as "Sommers Island"[46] coins (Williams et al. 1997).

In lieu of a monarch's portrait, the company decided to depict a hog, in honor of the abundant feral hogs that infested the island in 1609. These hogs were an invaluable source of food for the crew and passengers of the *Sea Adventure.* As such, they were likely a positive symbol for the original adventurers. However, the colonists of 1616 did not share the adventurers' appreciation for this symbol. They were poor farmers and laborers, desperately trying to eke out a living and/or pay off their indenture fees. The hogs, which were completely eradicated by 1615, represented nothing more than a depleted source of food to the colonists.

The coin's reverse would feature a crude image of a sailing ship. The subject of great debate, this ship is believed to symbolize the *Sea Adventure.* This is logical, as the combination of obverse and reverse designs would commemorate the miraculous salvation of Admiral Sir George Somers and company in 1609.

Another notable feature absent was the date of manufacture. Although taken quite for granted in modern numismatics, the hogge money did not have this feature. This was in keeping with royal coinage of that era. Making dies was a fairly expensive process. New dies were only made when absolutely necessary. This could have been when:

- An old die broke
- A new monarch was crowned (although sometimes the old dies were still used!)

- Fluctuations in the value of precious metals necessitated a change in the size/weight of a coin

A need for producing coins that bore the year of their manufacture was not widely felt at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus, the lack of a date on hogge money issues added to the mystique of that coinage from the perspective of nineteenth-century numismatists but really was not odd in the context of seventeenth-century British coinage. In fact, it was remarkably consistent with its contemporary British coinage in this respect.

Selecting Denominations. Given that the inhabitants of Somers' Ilands were predominantly English, it made sense to mimic the denominational structure of England's monetary system. Using familiar denominations would make it easier for the relatively uneducated colonists to conduct transactions. In all probability, the use of the pound sterling denominational system was a foregone conclusion, automatically assumed by all involved. The company's commission of Governor Moore in 1612 had established the maximum daily wages for workers in denominations of the Crown's pound sterling. Some of the English denominations in use at that time included:

- Farthing
- Penny
- Twopence
- Threepence
- Groat or fourpence
- Sixpence
- Shilling (twelve pence)

No records exist that definitely state which denominations were struck and released into circulation on the Somers' Ilands. However, specimens have been found of the twopence, threepence, sixpence, and shilling. Additionally, rumors abound of the issuance of groats, and historic documentation presents evidence that supports the need for the penny denomination. However, no specimens of either of these denominations have ever surfaced.

Minting The Tokens. No records exist that reveal exactly where, how, or when the Somers' Iland tokens were made. It is highly likely that they were manufactured privately in England and shipped to the colony. Records sug-

gest that the first batch of tokens arrived on 16 May 1616; thus they were likely minted during the winter of 1615/16. The sixteenth of May was the date that the Somers' Iland Company's supply ship, the *George*, arrived at St. George's Town in the Somers' Ilands. Aboard the *George* was Dan Tucker, the man commissioned by the company to be governor of Somers' Ilands upon his arrival there. Tucker's commission letter explicitly states that a base coyne was sent out with him on the supply ship. These coynes were to be used to pay the daily wages of company workers. The governor served as the paymaster for all company workers[47] in the colony.

Generally speaking, the coins are all weakly struck. Some specimens are even struck off-center. These forensic data suggest a manual striking process, such as using a hammer and anvil, to strike the coins one at a time. In theory, virtually any blacksmith could have been used to mint coins with so simple a manufacture method. The existing body of knowledge represented by the entire pool of hogge money specimens suggests that the tokens were minted at different times, perhaps in three or more different lots. Thus, it is possible that different batches were manufactured in different ways and possibly even different places.

The Coins: "Hogge Money", They Scoffed. The result of the Somers' Ilands Company's minting efforts has become known as hogge money. Although today this term conjures up endearing images of the Somers' Ilands' first colonists, the term was hardly applied with kindness. Governor Nathaniel Butler (1881), who ruled as governor from 1619 to 1622, described the coins in his historical recounting of the island's colonization: "...base money which, having a hogge stamped upon it on the one side, was, in a scoff, termed by the people 'hogge money'."

This contemporary admission of the coin's negative reception by the colonists is significant for several reasons. First, it is due to this account that the Somers' Ilands specimens are widely known today as hogge money. Second, it unequivocally records the negative reaction that the colonists had toward the coinage at its issuance. Given that Moore had been "paying" the workers with I.O.U.'s for approximately four years, it is hardly surprising that they would react so negatively to having their promissory notes redeemed with a base-metal coin that was not even a legal tender issue of the king.

Rejection. It is generally accepted that the hogge money's lack of intrinsic value resulted in its failure as a medium of exchange. The indefatigable Captain John Smith indicated that the coins quickly fell into disuse in his recollection of the colonization of Somers' Ilands.

In 1624, Captain Smith wrote: "...they had for a time a certain kind of brasse money with a hogge on one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges found at their first landing." There are several interesting aspects of Captain Smith's brief statement. The most obvious, is that this is the earliest recorded reference that identifies the coinage as having a "brasse" composition. Hogge money has been broadly assumed to have a brass composition, yet no scientific evaluation of that assumption has ever been published. Consequently, all such references to brass composition appear to be derived from Smith's seventeenth-century remark.

The most important aspect of Smith's brief coverage of hogge money is that he implies that it had long since stopped circulating by 1624. Given that the coins did not arrive on the island until May of 1616, his statement suggests they circulated but only briefly. The fact that Smith, who was not a permanent member of the colony, would have even noticed the private tokens amid the monetary chaos of foreign coins, tobacco, and trade bills that comprised the Somers' Ilands economy is noteworthy. The implication is that hogge money circulated long enough, and widely enough, to catch the attention of Smith (a repeat visitor to the Ilands, but never a resident) before they ceased circulating.

Less important to today's numismatists, Captain Smith's statement established the purpose of hogge money as a medium of exchange within the Somers' Ilands. His statement is consistent with, and corroborative of, Governor Butler's accounts. Butler recorded the colonists' scathing rebuke of the coinage. Thus, between these two brief sources, there is historical confirmation of:

1. The colonists' disdain for their tokenized money
2. Hogge money enjoying a brief tenure as a circulating medium of exchange
3. Hogge money ceasing to circulate as a medium of exchange prior to 1624

These historical data beg answers to the following questions:

1. Why would a worthless, tokenized currency circulate at all?

2. Why would the tokens cease circulating after they had become established as a medium of exchange?
3. When did they stop circulating?

Answers to these questions require a closer look at the life of a colonist in the Somers' Ilands during the period from 1616 through 1619.

Economic Development and Mutiny

The colonial development of Bermuda demonstrated one of mercantilism's greatest conflicts: the needs of the colonists versus the needs of the mercantilists. This conflict raged on for years, characterized by mutual dissatisfaction, and provided both the context and sociological rationale for the failure of the Somers' Ilands hogge money. The facts are quite simple: Somers' Ilands were a mercantilist colony. Much like other mercantilist colonies, its owners continuously siphoned anything of value out of the colony in their quest for profits, especially precious metals. This process of wealth extraction left the colonists in chronic need of hard currency for their own transactions. Despite the chronic, if not desperate, need for currency, the colonists rejected a "coinage" that was manufactured specifically for them.

Problems with Colonial Life

Mercantilism was a new way of playing an old game: empire building. Previously, monarchs built their empires by militarily conquering neighboring lands. Military engagements were expensive, requiring large investments in war materiel and personnel. Unfortunately, the returns on such investments were sometimes disastrous and often resulted in the monarch's downfall and/or death.

In mercantilism lands were conquered economically rather than militarily. In comparison to military conquest the risks were reduced significantly. The risks were mostly financial, and even these risks were transferred from the Crown to merchants willing to invest personal funds in return for the exclusive rights to develop the economic wealth of a region.

Economic and military empire building were remarkably similar in that both enriched the mother country via the exploitation of the wealth and people of a foreign region. Not surprisingly, merchants sometimes

preferred to colonize lands that were not already inhabited by a "civilized" race. Then the bitter distinction between economic and military empire building was that the people in that foreign region in a mercantilist colony were not foreigners: they came from the mother country. Colonists were recruited from within the sponsoring monarch's nation and, upon arrival in the colony, would become the means by which the economic wealth of a region was exploited. Unfortunately for them, there was no functional difference between exploiting the resources of an area and exploiting that area's inhabitants. Thus the stage was set for an extended, passive-aggressive[48] economic conflict between the colonists and the mercantilists.

The Plight of the Colonists. It is highly likely that the colonists were motivated to accept the challenge of colonial life based upon the stories of Captain Matthew Somers, the nephew of Admiral Sir George Somers. Upon his return to England in 1610, Captain Somers emphatically spun fanciful tales about an archipelago that was both beautiful and bountiful. His stories were compelling to both potential investors and potential colonists: anyone living in the Somers' Ilands need not ever worry about food!

The romantic appeal of living in a near-tropical paradise must have lost its luster quickly; the colonists of Somers' Ilands lived a hard life. Many had to indenture themselves to the company, or one of its adventurers, just to secure passage to the Ilands. Others were willing to sign on as tenant farmers or indentured workers just to escape the poverty and high unemployment endemic in England. Still others saw the Ilands as a new beginning, free from religious persecution, indebtedness, or even a criminal past. Such people were hardly ideal candidates for the rigors of colonial life. Yet, they enjoyed the luxury of personal choice. Other "colonists" weren't so fortunate: the adventurers were not opposed to buying slaves and shipping them to their plantations.[49]

The colonists' hardship started immediately upon leaving England. Travel by ship in the early seventeenth century was not for the fainthearted. Fresh food and water were virtually nonexistent, the seas potentially violent, and living spaces extremely cramped. Under such conditions diseases spread rampantly, and the death toll was frequently quite high. The fact that most colonists were from the bottom strata of English society did not help much

either. Typically, such uneducated and poor people practiced poor personal hygiene and were themselves a source of disease and parasitic infestation.

Those lucky colonists who survived the journey to the Somers' Ilands soon discovered that their hardships were far from over. Instead, they learned first-hand how mercantilism siphons economic wealth out of a colony and redistributes that wealth between the merchants and the Crown. They may have successfully traded up as far as scenery and climate were concerned, but the colonists were still, for the most part, the exploited underclass.

The Ilands' fauna quickly demonstrated the difference between bountiful and infinite. By 1615, the countless wild hogs that had greeted Somers, Gates, and the other castaways from the *Sea Adventure* were completely exterminated. Other species, too, proved themselves susceptible to overharvesting, such as the cahow bird and sea turtles. These species were initially abundant but incapable of regenerating as quickly as the colonists consumed them. The initial expectations of the Ilands' lushness and ability to effortlessly sustain a growing colony proved unfounded, and the costs of operating the colony on Somers' Ilands increased.

Flora, too, proved their mortality. Cedar was clear-cut with reckless abandon, as wood was needed for everything from houses to ships to packing crates. Palmetto trees, too, were being destroyed.[50] Worst of all, the cultivated crops proved quite susceptible to the vagaries of weather. There were few natural sources of fresh water in the archipelago, and the colonists were almost completely dependent upon rainfall for their crops as well as their own consumption. Cruelly, when rain fell, it often fell violently; the archipelago's frequent storms could easily destroy months of work and wipe out a season's harvest.

The Ilands were undeniably beautiful, but there were finite limits to their bounty that neither the colonists nor adventurers anticipated.

The Plight of the Adventurers. The plight of the adventurers shares a common root with the plight of the colonists: both groups undertook their roles in the Somers' Ilands based on the glowing reports of Captain Matthew Somers. For the adventurers, his tales were the foundation for their financial speculation in the Somers' Ilands and caused unrealistic expectations of

profits. Although Captain Somers succeeded in generating adequate interest in financing a colony, his hyperbole also sowed the seeds of discontent and conflict between company and colonist.

The adventurers expected quick and easy returns for their investments in this new land patent. Based on Captain Somers' statements, the adventurers fully expected that most if not all of the colonists' food could be simply gathered from the abundant stocks of plants, fowl, fish, and hogs that were already on the Ilands. Thus, one of the biggest burdens in colonization (supporting the colonists) appeared to be eliminated. The adventurers, consequently, expected the colonists to focus immediately on activities that could generate cash. These activities included[51]:

- Hunting whales for meat and oil
- Harvesting pearls from the shallow bay waters
- Gathering ambergris[52] from coastal areas
- Salvaging precious metal coins and ingots from foreign shipwrecks that were known to populate the Ilands' rocky shoreline
- Growing tobacco, which England could not seem to get enough of yet lacked the climate to grow locally

It is important to note that the adventurers assumed that anything "found" on the Ilands was automatically their property. Thus, it was illegal for the colonists to assume ownership of, much less attempt to sell, ambergris, gold and silver bullion, jewels, or anything else of value that was not obtained through the application of labor (Lefroy [1877] 1981, I, 72–75).[53] Needless to say, the colonists did not share this belief. Typically, colonists would rationalize keeping such found valuables by claiming they were compensation for monies owed them by the company.

Unfortunately for the adventurers, their expectations of easy returns on their investments quickly proved unfounded. The repeated attempts to establish a whaling industry all failed as the boats and whaling gear were horribly mismatched against the strong, healthy whales that swam the oceans around the Ilands. The early discovery of ambergris by the Three Kings was a cruel tease. Never again was ambergris found in such quantity in the Somers' Ilands. Not only that but what little ambergris was found, was not found with any degree of frequency or regularity. When ambergris was found, the colonists could not be counted on to hand it over uncontested to the adventurers.[54] Nor were the colonists inclined to surrender any

of the gold and silver recovered from shipwrecks (including the Spanish treasure ship, *San Antonio*). It is doubtful that much, if any, of the riches from shipwrecks ever made it back to England. Similarly, although there were substantial oyster beds in the myriad shallow bays, there were not many high-quality pearls to be found in those oysters.

The adventurers' new colony was looking more and more like just another money pit. The only commodity of value that the colony seemed capable of producing was tobacco. Tobacco, the adventurers decided, would be their salvation. Unfortunately for the colonists, the typical contract called for one half of all tobacco grown in the Ilands to be given to the company without compensation. The remaining half of the crop could be kept for personal consumption, sold to the company, or used to barter for other goods.

The adventurers quickly realized that they could make additional profit by selling much-needed goods to the colonists (including rope, certain food products, metal and metal-based products, clothing, fishing nets and hooks, shoes, etc.). The colonists could use whatever they had that was of value to purchase these goods, although tobacco was the usual medium of exchange. Of course, as the colonists represented a captive market[55] with no other legal sources for these goods, the adventurers grossly overinflated the prices of everything sold to the colonists. The adventurers also understated the values of tobacco and other goods received as payment, thereby further increasing the profit margins of supplies to the colonists.

The conflict between the colonists and the adventurers manifested itself in a variety of chronic complaints, rebelliousness, and even passive-aggressive mutinous behaviors. Although it is not explicitly documented, it is highly plausible that the adventurers appointed Dan Tucker as governor of the Somers Ilands plantation with the expectation that he would keep the colonists under control.

A New Governor, A New Approach

A veteran of colonial life, Tucker had made a name for himself as a planter (farmer) in the Jamestown colony. Apparently, Tucker also distinguished himself as a natural, but irascible and somewhat unpredictable, leader. Given that, by 1616, the adventurers had concluded that their best hopes for profit lay in the cultivation and processing of tobacco, it was logical

that they would select an experienced planter to lead their colony. The fact that Tucker was also a rather severe disciplinarian appeared to suit the adventurers' needs. For the most part, the colony had been populated with society's misfits, malcontents, and failures. Thus, the adventurers were beginning to appreciate the need for a strong, if not severe, disciplinarian to lead the colony.

From Subsistence Farming to Cash Cropping. Tobacco had been growing wild in the Ilands since before Somers and the *Sea Adventure.* Christopher Carter (one of the Three Kings) had found a few stray plants growing wild, and cultivated a plot using these plants as seed stock. When the *Plough* arrived in 1612, farming on the Somers' Ilands was nothing more than small-scale subsistence farming. Carter, Waters, and Chard had had no contact with the civilized world since Captain Matthew Somers had departed for England aboard the *Patience* in 1610. Thus, everything they grew, including tobacco, was solely for their personal consumption.

Moore, the colony's first governor, had shifted the emphasis from subsistence to generating cash for the adventurers. Of all his attempts to bootstrap industry, none were more successful than his decision to raise tobacco as a cash crop. It was only by continually increasing the volume of tobacco that was shipped back to London that Moore was able to mitigate the failures of the various other industries. The adventurers, still not quite believing that whaling, pearl fishing, and ambergris could not generate consistent and significant profits, slowly shifted their expectations: tobacco became their financial salvation.

From Cash Cropping to Dan Tucker. Tucker's instructions provided ample incentive for him to succeed in further developing the Ilands' supposed economic potential. He was to be awarded three shares of land[56] for his service. And, should he remain in office for his full term of seven years, he would receive 5% of the net profits from whaling, pearl fishing, and farming activities that accrued during that time. Additionally, he was to receive a commission on all ambergris found.[57] Motivated by these potentially lucrative incentives, Tucker dove into his tasks with great relish.

Tucker attacked in three directions simultaneously:

1. He greatly increased the scale and scope of agricultural activities, clearing great tracts of land, and introduced many new types of plants,

including figs, pomegranates, pineapples, corn, grapevines, and many others. In general, Tucker strove to make the colony self-sufficient as far as food was concerned.

2. He undertook massive civil infrastructure projects, including building roads and rebuilding forts (Kennedy 1971, 110–112).[58]
3. Tucker again allocated resources, including colonists, to previously failed industries such as whaling and pearl fishing. In addition, he continued Moore's emphasis on tobacco as a cash crop.

Each of these major initiatives required time and effort, yet the number of colonists was still quite limited. To successfully complete his initiatives, Tucker stopped at nothing. He even pulled people away from tending their own farms (both cash and subsistence crops) and assigned them to his projects. Forcing people to neglect their farms, even temporarily, was detrimental to their livelihoods.[59] The fact that they were forced to work on projects that could result in a tremendous financial windfall for Tucker was truly an insult on top of injury! To make matters worse, the colonists were "compensated" for their labors with a daily wage paid in the company's base metal coyne, hogge money.

Therein lay the rationale for the colonists' abandonment of hogge money. The colonists had waited patiently to get paid for their labors to the company; some waited as long as four years. When they finally were paid, it was in a base-metal token that was a caricature of a real coin. Real coins (in seventeenth-century England's bullion-based economy) were made of precious metals, such as gold and silver. Real coins were issued by the king, and featured his portrait and crest. Tucker was not paying them with real money: these things were "brasse", and they bore the image of a pig, not the king.

Fear: The Real Currency

Governor Dan Tucker was a belligerent and temperamental disciplinarian who was universally feared throughout the Somers Ilands. It is documented in the instructions that commissioned him that Tucker brought the tokens to the Somers Ilands in May of 1616. It is also well documented that the governor of the colony was the paymaster, responsible for hiring, firing, and paying the company's workers. It is also well documented that Tucker would publicly stretch the neck of a person caught making statements that

undermined his authority as governor (Lefroy [1877] 1981, I, 123–124).[60] If merely speaking out against Tucker constituted sedition (a capital offense!), imagine what would have happened to anyone refusing to accept the tokens that he was paying out on behalf of the company. Historical evidence strongly suggests that hogge money circulated simply because the colonists were in fear of their lives.

The real currency in Somers' Ilands—the shared perception of the intangible value in the tokenized hogge money—was fear of "ole Dan Tucker". This fear was made tangible in the form of the base-metal tokens decorated with pigs and ships that Tucker paid out to company workers. The problem inherent with basing a tokenized currency on a negative shared value (fear, in this case) is the fleeting nature of such values and emotions. The currency would only circulate as long as the colonists remained fearful of Tucker. If he died or left the Ilands, or if his term as governor expired, the colonists would no longer fear him. As the fear subsided so would the shared perception of value in the tokenized currency.

In 1619, a plan was hatched, and a soldier known as Ensign Wood was to be the messenger. He brought a letter to the governor, ostensibly out of concern for the governor's well-being. This letter was actually drafted in the colony, but Wood said that it had been written to him by a friend in London and delivered via the last supply ship. The letter described the adventurers' growing dissatisfaction with Tucker and his antics. Specifically, it mentioned Tucker's questionable use of company employees to build a sumptuous cedar house for him on some of the best lands in the islands. The letter also indicated that the adventurers questioned whether or not the lands that Tucker now resided on were legally his. The letter suggested that Tucker's heavy-handed approach to governing was detrimental to the colony. Lastly, the letter revealed that the adventurers were about to recall him to London where he would be held accountable for his actions.

Amid growing local scandal and furor surrounding both the size and locations of his personal lots, Governor Tucker returned to England. He had hoped that by returning to London voluntarily and making a personal explanation, he could be restored to the adventurers' good graces. Needless to say, the adventurers were quite surprised to see him (Lefroy [1877] 1981, I, 143–144).[61]

Prior to his departure, Tucker made arrangements for an interim governor to assume his duties. This person, Miles Kendall, was one of the original gang of six rotating governors. Unfortunately, Kendall proved no more effective this time than last: he was an incredibly weak governor. The effects of his rule are indisputable: chaos reigned. All productive work in the colony ceased abruptly. Bands of outlaws roamed the Ilands, stealing food and liquor with impunity, as they were friends and "advisors" of the new governor. Mutiny was a luxury that was now affordable by all in the colony. The oppressive taskmaster, Tucker, was gone; in his place was an easily manipulated figurehead.

Tobacco: The New Currency

Tucker's departure would not have been merely a relief to the colonists; it would have been cause for celebration! The colonists may not have dared to defy Tucker in his presence, but it was certainly easy to defy him in absentia! The celebration of rebellion continued unabated for several months, as law, order, and economic activity all but ceased to exist.

The most tangible, and arguably the most hated, memento of Tucker's regime was hogge money. Hogge money was likely inextricably linked to Tucker, at least in the minds of the colonists. Tucker was the man who brought these tokens to the Ilands. Tucker was the man who paid them out to company workers. Tucker was also the man who made so many of the colonists into company-paid workers, thanks to his extensive economic development activities. Tucker's reputation as a vile, and violent, disciplinarian was also likely the only reason that these tokens had circulated. For three long years, the colonists endured not only Tucker's peculiar brand of leadership, but also the insult and injury of being paid in a worthless currency for labors on behalf of the company. It does not require much imagination to conjure up images of the colonists celebrating Tucker's departure by discarding "his" hogge money.

The loss of a circulating coinage was mitigated by the satisfaction derived from the rebelliousness, as well as the pre-existence of alternative currencies: tobacco, bills of trade, and barter. By 1617, tobacco cultivation had increased sufficiently as to become the primary cash crop of the islands. The typical agreement between adventurer and colonist called for

half of all crops to be turned over to the company, with the remainder being retained by the colonist for trade with other colonists, sale to the company, or personal consumption.

Thus, there was both a legitimate and legal reason for tobacco to change hands in the colony, as well as an adequate supply. The fact that tobacco was immediately salable to the company meant that, unlike the hogge money, it possessed intrinsic value. Even the visiting pirates and privateers would gladly exchange some of their ill-gotten gains for it. Thus, the abandonment of hogge money had no detrimental effects on the economy of the Somers' Ilands. If anything, the abandonment of hogge money would have delighted the adventurers, as it relieved them of the expense of manufacturing and shipping the tokens to the Ilands.

Evidence of the Shift to Tobacco. One of the most reliable indicators of the timeframe during which the primary circulating currency of the Somers' Ilands shifted from the pound/shillings/pence of the hogge money to pounds of tobacco is the court records of Somers Ilands. Known as assizes, public meetings were convened at regular intervals to tend to the judicial affairs of the colony. The governor presided over the meetings, and a jury was selected from the populace.

During the Tucker's term as governor, assizes records[62] use pounds, shillings, and pence to establish the value of a transaction, stolen goods, or monetary penalty. This indicates Tucker, who was also the company paymaster responsible for paying out wages in hogge money, was doing his best to see to it that this private tokenage was used broadly throughout the colony.

Immediately following Tucker was Governor Miles Kendall, a notoriously weak and corrupt administrator. Fortunately for all involved, Kendall's second term as interim governor was brief.[63] As brief as his term in office may have been, it was ample time for hogge money to be purged from the colony. Assizes records from this brief period are sketchy at best. There are no official records that would indicate that hogge money, or even the pound sterling denominational system continued to be used. Instead, Kendall began levying penal fines that were denominated in pounds of tobacco.

Gone Forever. The governor that replaced Kendall was Nathaniel Butler. The official records of the assizes of 1619–20[64] report that Governor Butler continued Kendall's convention and imposed fines denominated in tobacco. This proves that at the close of 1619 (Butler arrived on 20 October 1619) hogge money was gone, and gone for good as far as the colonists of the Somers' Ilands were concerned. Hogge money had ceased circulating during the chaos that ensued after Tucker departed, and even a strong and able administrator such as Butler was unable, or unwilling, to resurrect the failed currency.

The official pay records of the Somers' Ilands militia are another reliable indicator of the timeframe within which hogge money was replaced with tobacco. A catalogue from 1620 of the "Martiall Officers" in the Somers' Ilands identifies, by name and rank, every soldier in the company's employ (Lefroy I, 161–162). This catalogue identifies the pay awarded to each soldier and denominates that pay in pounds of tobacco per year. Given that the primary reason for the creation of the hogge money was to pay those directly employed by the company, including soldiers, it is obvious that the tokens failed prior to 1620.

These historical data are consistent with the theory that the tokens ceased circulating when Dan Tucker departed for England, and tobacco became the primary medium of exchange in the Somers' Ilands. Hogge money enjoyed only a brief useful life, beginning in May of 1616 and ending by July of 1619 with the premature departure of Tucker.

Rediscovery

Hogge money of Somers' Ilands began its slow re-emergence during the nineteenth century, after almost two centuries of absence. The facts surrounding their rediscovery are almost as shadowy as their origins. Exactly when and where the first specimens were discovered may never be known. It is known that American numismatists were well aware of hogge money during the 1850s, and that they were considered exceedingly rare. Also, thanks to the writings of Sylvester Crosby, it is evident that no one really knew what hogge money specimens were at the time of their rediscovery.

The First Three Specimens

Few specifics are known about the discoveries of the first three specimens of hogge money. What little is known about hogge money's rediscovery accrues from the diligence of numismatic researchers Sylvester Crosby and Walter Breen, as well as the entrepenurial spirit of Montroville Wilson Dickeson. Each has, in his own way, advanced the frontier of knowledge on this obscure aspect of Bermudian numismatics and history.

As the first few specimens of hogge money came into the numismatic consciousness, numismatists and historians alike were forced to concede that more was unknown about these curiosities than was known. The result was decades of research and speculation (mostly speculation, though) as both numismatists and historians tried to make sense of these ancient "coins."

Two Shillings. Sylvester Crosby, in his landmark 1875 text *The Early Coins of America,* reveals that remarkably little was known about these curious specimens. In fact, at the time of publication, Crosby was only able to identify three extant specimens: two shillings and a sixpence. The original discovery piece was a shilling. Crosby offers no additional facts about when, where, or even who discovered it. Crosby was kind enough to record that in 1875 the original discovery specimen resided in the collection of William S. Appleton of Boston, Massachusetts. Unfortunately, Crosby offers no other information about the specimen's history prior to Appleton.

Another reputable source, Walter Breen, tantalizes readers with a single sentence fragment (Breen 1988, 10): "Discovered by Thomas Hollis before 1769." This describes a Small Sails shilling and indicates that hogge money lay in anonymity for approximately 150 years before being rediscovered. Unfortunately, Breen does not cite any sources for this information. Thus, it is difficult to to determine the veracity or accuracy of this information.

The second specimen discovered was another shilling. This piece was liberated from a bag of junk coppers found in a New York antiquarian merchant's shop. The merchant had no idea of its origins, rarity, or value. No more detail about this specimen has been recorded, except that Crosby was fortunate enough to add it to his personal collection sometime thereafter.

It is important to note that during the first half of the nineteenth century, there was great debate as to the actual purpose of these curious pieces.

It was generally accepted that they were old and evidently dated back to the seventeenth century (circa 1612–1684) when Bermuda was the land patent of the Somers' Ilands Company. No one seemed to be able to agree on what the specimens were, why they were made, or why they disappeared almost completely. This debate was put to rest with the discovery of a sixpence during the 1850s.

A Sixpence: Proof of Monetary Purpose. Given that the first two pieces rediscovered were both shillings, numismatic wisdom held that they were probably medals rather than coins. In theory, a monetary system could not function well with just a single denomination, especially a shilling.[65] Commercial transactions would surely require multiple denominations for use in making change. Thus, the discovery of another piece of hogge money in a different denomination proved that the original intent of the specimens was a circulating currency.

This first sixpence was dug up from a garden in the island of St. George,[66] one of the oldest inhabited regions in present-day Bermuda. The sixpence subsequently made its way to New York where Benjamin Betts acquired it. Knowing that this sixpence was the third specimen discovered and that it was unearthed during the 1850s establishes a partial timeframe for the discovery of the first two specimens. These specimens must have surfaced either before or during the 1850s.

Discovery of a Twopence. A child discovered the first twopence in 1877. Legend holds that the specimen had washed up on a beach near Port Royal, Bermuda, where the child picked it up (Breen 1988, 11; Williams et al. 1997, 60).[67] A year later, the specimen was sold to Governor Sir John H. Lefroy, noted Bermudian historian, author, and statesman. This marks a turning point in the attitude of Bermudians toward hogge money. The first three hogge money specimens had quickly found their way into the hands of American numismatists. Lefroy's purchase is the earliest recorded purchase of a hogge money specimen by a Bermudian for his personal collection (Williams et al. 1997, 60).[68]

And a Threepence. The last denomination to be identified via a discovery specimen was the threepence. This discovery is not well documented but is purported to have occurred in Bermuda some time prior to 1883 by a Bermudian named J. Kermack Ford (Breen 1988, 10).[69] Much speculation

has focused on whether or not other denominations of hogge money were made. Specifically, rumors abounded about both a penny and a groat (fourpence). Unfortunately for numismatists, as well as the purveyors of such speculation, no specimens of either denomination have surfaced.

There are two facts that in conjunction make it highly unlikely that any new denominations will be discovered. The first fact is that the last new denomination (the threepence) was discovered over 116 years ago. New specimens continue to be found, and found at an increasing rate thanks to modern technologies (e.g., metal detectors) as well as an increased emphasis by the Bermudian government on the archaeological exploration and conservation of the island's cultural heritage. The known population of hogge money has expanded significantly in the second half of the twentieth century, but no new denominations have been found. Thus, it is highly unlikely that any new denominations will be discovered.

Dickeson's Fantasy Pieces. Montroville Wilson Dickeson, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, manufactured a series of high-quality fantasy hogge money shillings during the mid-1850s to satisfy collector demand for this newly discovered coinage series. In addition to having become quite collectible, Dickeson's copies are historically valuable in that they establish a timeframe for the rediscovery of hogge money.

Dickeson's fantasy pieces could not be construed as an attempt to defraud numismatists as he took the liberty of altering certain reverse features. For example, Dickeson transformed the round portholes featured on authentic hogge money specimens into rectangles. Ostensibly, this was done to signify cannon protruding from portholes. Additionally, a bloom of smoke obscured one of the rear cannon.

The most significant distinction between Dickeson's replicas and authentic specimens was the quality of the finished pieces. Authentic hogge money specimens were little more than crude, hand-struck cobs. Worse, they had suffered the brunt of more than 200 years of environmental exposure. The cumulative effect of their primitive manufacture and lack of care was that all known specimens were in horrendous condition. Dickeson's pieces were fully round, well struck, and featured proof-like surfaces. Quite simply, they were not convincing fakes; they were too well made.[70]

Beyond their numismatic and historical value, Dickeson's fantasy replicas are significant as they help establish the timeframes for hogge money's re-emergence. Dickeson fabricated his replicas during the 1850s to satisfy the demand for specimens among American numismatists. This indicates that by the 1850s, news of the two shillings and the sixpence had spread sufficiently to stimulate collector interest among American numismatists.

Castle Island

Since their rediscovery, numerous specimens of hogge money have been unearthed. Absence must truly make the heart grow fonder, as these specimens (which were reviled and rejected by the Somers' Ilands colonists in 1616–1619) have been warmly embraced by numismatists in three countries. Americans and Britons both claim them as part of their colonial heritage. Bermudians, too, have reversed their ancestors' opinion of hogge money; they are no longer eager to sell these specimens to Americans. Instead, hogge money specimens are now highly prized as cultural artifacts of Bermuda's earliest days. As such, various Bermudian entities are committed to the continued discovery, research, and conservation of hogge money specimens.[71]

Archaeological Expedition on Castle Island. The Bermuda Maritime Museum in conjunction with the Anthropology Department of the College of William and Mary conducted extensive archaeological excavations of Bermuda's various earliest forts and defensive structures. For numismatists, the most significant of these excavations was conducted at Castle Island. This excavation was conducted from 1993 to 1996. Castle Island is a relatively small island that guards the entrance to Southampton Harbor on the south shore. The ramparts installed there date back to 1612, the very beginning of the official colonization of Bermuda and were constructed under the administration of Governor Moore.

Brief History of King's Castle on Castle Island. The battery installed at Castle Island remains the only fort in Bermuda from which a shot was fired in either warning or anger at an enemy. Castle Island's moment of glory came early in its career. On 14 March 1614 two Spanish ships approached Southampton Harbor and were taking soundings of the channel's depths.

Governor Moore, who was also reputed to be a very good gunner, fired a warning shot at the ships. The shot flew over the ships and proved that they were within range of the fort's guns. Moore then corrected his aim and fired a second shot directly at the larger of the two ships. Reports vary (Spanish historical accounts differ slightly from Bermudian accounts) but tend to agree that the second shot either struck the ship or passed through its rigging. In either case, the Spanish quickly departed (Williams et al. 1997, 35–36).[72]

This simple unanswered aggression constituted the sum total of Castle Island's military action. Never again did a foreign vessel attempt to reconnoiter or attack the coastline of the Somers' Ilands. It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that a full-time garrison of soldiers (twelve in total) was not stationed at Castle Island until 1620, when Governor Butler issued an official government act (Lefroy [1877] 1981, I, 167–168) proclaiming the *Necessarye Manninge of King's Castle.* Up until this act the Castle was only manned temporarily, when necessary. If one of the lookouts stationed in an observation tower in St. George or one of the other populous areas of the Ilands spied sails on the horizon, soldiers were to be dispatched to the appropriate perimeter defense facility. King's Castle, on Castle Island, was one of about ten such facilities.

During the excavation of Castle Island, a surprise discovery was made. A previously unknown defensive ditch was discovered. No historical records exist that would establish when this ditch was constructed, although its position relative to other structures and dating of the refuse at various layers in the ditch support the ditch's existence in the late 1610s or very early in the 1620s (Williams et al. 1997, 36–39).

Excavation revealed that the trench ranged from 5 to 6 feet deep and spanned the length of the small peninsula. Given that this trench was constructed behind and conformed to the shapes of two structures (the captain's house and the sea-facing upper battery), it is probable that it was constructed as a defensive ditch. Such a ditch would have provided a highly defensible position from which to guard the rear of the aforementioned structures against land-based attackers. Additionally, the ditch could have concealed the movement of the defenders from building to building during a siege from the sea.

The Find. Given the sparse history of military activity in Bermuda, it is not surprising to learn that this potentially valuable defensive ditch had fallen into disuse. By the 1650s, it was completely filled in with refuse. Thus, the contents represented an undisturbed archaeological record of approximately three decades of life for a soldier garrisoned at King's Castle. At the very bottom layer of residue in the defensive-ditch-turned-latrine/garbage-pit, nineteen specimens of hogge money were discovered.

Of the nineteen specimens, two were found in 1993 (including one Large Sails shilling and one Large Portholes sixpence). In 1994, as the excavation continued, thirteen more specimens were discovered (all were sixpences, with six being Large Portholes and the other seven being of the Small Portholes variety). Finally, in 1996, four more were found. These last four specimens included two of the Large Portholes sixpence, one Large Sails shilling, and one Small Sails shilling. The conditions of these specimens ranged from good up to almost uncirculated.

The Castle Island archaeological expedition was significant for many reasons. From a strictly numismatic perspective, it was a spectacular find. Not only was the known population of hogge money greatly expanded, but that expansion took place within the confines of an archaeological expedition. Thus, for the first time, knowledge could be gained from examining the specimens in the context of their discovery. Such examination immediately revealed that some, but not all, of the specimens discovered bore evidence of silvering. Thus, both the presence and the absence of silvering on hogge money specimens were original and dated back to their issuance.

Why Were They There? The obvious question about the Castle Island discovery is why were so many hogge money specimens in the ditch? There are many different speculative answers. Three plausible answers are that they were cached, lost, or thrown away.

The fact that these specimens represent a fairly wide variety of numismatic attributes (Large and Small Sail shillings, Large and Small Porthole sixpences, and both silvered and unsilvered specimens) does not help in proving or disproving any of these possibilities. The collection of specimens can be regarded as a cross-section of the varieties circulating in Somers' Ilands during 1619. Thus, they could have been lost one at a time over the

course of several years, removed from circulation slowly, and added to a soldier's nest egg, or rebelliously discarded all at once.

Cached. It is possible[73] that a soldier intentionally hid the tokens. Military establishments are notorious for lack of privacy. Thus, a soldier might have need for a secret place to cache his personal fortune. The amount of money represented by these nineteen tokens is 11 shillings. That amount would have been almost half a month's pay for soldiers at that time and certainly worthy of caching, even if they were just base-metal tokens. In this scenario, the soldier failed to retrieve it and the tokens remained lost for over 350 years.

A fairly common reason why a soldier would have failed to retrieve his cache is that he died unexpectedly. Interestingly, such a death is recorded in the otherwise-peaceful military annals of the Somers' Ilands (Lefroy [1877] 1981, I, 147–148)[74] and is contemporary with both the issuance of hogge money as well as the timeframe at which the ditch was extant. Lieutenant Wood (better known by his previous rank—ensign—as well as for his role in duping Tucker into prematurely departing for London) died in a gunnery accident late in 1619 as the colony was preparing to receive its new governor, Richard Butler. Thus, there is certainly some historic evidence that could support the notion of the Castle Island specimens being a lost cache.

Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence contravenes this possibility as the specimens were not found in one place. Instead, they were quite literally scattered throughout the bottom layer of refuse in the ditch. The archaeological evidence more strongly supports the theory that the tokens were either lost or discarded.

Lost. It is possible that the coins were simply lost, that is, fell out of a soldier's pocket and were quickly covered up by the dust and debris. This may well account for one, or even two or three, of the specimens recovered from the ditch-turned-garbage-pit, but it seems unlikely for nineteen different specimens. The plausibility of this theory rests on a key assumption: this many specimens could only have been lost in such a confined a space while the pit was still actively used as a defensive structure.

This is implausible because a full-time garrison of twelve men was not stationed there until an act proclaimed by Governor Butler in 1620. This

garrisoning occurred after the militia of Somers' Ilands began to be paid in tobacco rather than hogge money (Lefroy [1877] 1981, I, 161–162, 167–168). Consequently, the soldiers permanently garrisoned at King's Castle would not have had a reason to carry hogge money. This fact makes it extremely unlikely that the soldiers lost the tokens in such quantities.

Thrown Away. The first two theories for explaining the presence of so many hogge money specimens in the ditch are improbable. However, it is necessary to examine the final reason: they were thrown away. Throwing away money might not seem logical. One could even argue that in this particular case it was the opposite of the behavior predicted by Gresham's law.[75] However, when the facts are considered, this is the most plausible theory about why large quantities of tokens were found in the ditch.

It is highly likely that the soldiers simply discarded the coins out of contempt for their worthlessness and/or disrespect for their issuing authorities (Tucker and the company). The fact that they were all found in the lowest layers of residue enables a timeframe to be scientifically established for the societal rejection of hogge money. This timeframe was estimated archaeologically to be the end of the 1610s, or the very beginning of the 1620s, which nicely corroborates Captain John Smith's 1624 remembrance of hogge money as an amusing curiosity from the past.

Historical records allow a bit more precision with respect to establishing the date of the hogge money's rejection. The garrison stationed in King's Castle during 1620 was paid in tobacco, not hogge money. Assize records have demonstrated that the Somers' Ilands economy featured the pound sterling denominations of hogge money right up until Tucker left the Ilands in the middle of 1619. By July of 1619, even assize records started using pounds of tobacco as a standard denomination. The Kendall government's abandonment of hogge money would have provided both the motivation and the appropriate timeframe for the nineteen specimens to be simultaneously deposited in the garbage pit.

It is not a secret that law and order broke down in the colony as colonists "celebrated" Tucker's departure and the end of his draconian authority. Thus, it is most probable that one or more of the temporary crews of soldiers dispatched to the fort in 1619 (who still had some of the now-worthless hogge money tokens in their pockets) celebrated Tucker's

departure by throwing them away. An ignorant, uneducated soldier could not hope for a better social statement than throwing the symbols of Tucker's authority in the ditch and urinating and/or defecating on them. Such acts would have been seditious in Tucker's presence. In his absence, these acts exacted some small, anonymous measure of satisfaction. Such scatalogical expression would likely have been very appealing to the men in the Somers' Ilands militia.

The Best is Yet to Come. Despite the wealth of knowledge accumulated during the Castle Island excavation, not to mention the enormity of finding nineteen new specimens of hogge money, the best fruits of this labor were yet to come. The specimens were to be subjected to careful conservation and metallurgical and numismatic analysis. From these efforts new truths would be discovered about hogge money, which would create the need for a new taxonomy.

The New Taxonomy

The cumulative wealth of knowledge about hogge money has expanded tremendously in just the last decade, rendering the existing numismatic taxonomy all but obsolete. Many of the terms used to describe the various attributes of this series have been proven inaccurate or inadequate. Consequently, the numismatic community must develop a new taxonomy that will enable a more accurate description of the tokens in this series. The foundation for a new taxonomy, including a more scientific numismatic classification system, is presented in this section.

Metallic Composition

The metallic composition of hogge money might not appear to be something in need of updating. However, persistent mythology in the absence of scientific evidence has resulted in the existing taxonomy perpetuating two incorrect metallurgical assumptions. These assumptions are:

1. Hogge money was made with brass planchets
2. Some specimens were lightly plated, or washed, with silver

Both of these assumptions have been broadly accepted. Numismatic and historical references almost always describe such specimens as being of a base metal, brass, or a brassy composite, with some specimens exhibiting

a light layer of silver. Numerous theories also developed around the presumption of the silvery coating actually being silver. However, no one had bothered to put either of these long-standing suppositions to test.

The perfect test specimens were uncovered during the recent archaeological excavation of a defensive ditch on Castle Island. The ramparts, and this ditch, date back to the very beginning of the Somers Ilands colony. In all, nineteen specimens were uncovered in the lowest layer of residue in a ditch that was originally constructed for defensive purposes. Given the almost complete lack of military action in the Somers' Ilands, this defensive ditch quickly fell into disuse as the latrine and garbage pit for the soldiers garrisoned at the fort. By 1655, the ditch was no longer a ditch: it had been completely filled in with refuse. Consequently, these nineteen specimens of hogge money have remained undisturbed since approximately 1619. Two of these specimens would eventually be sectioned and analyzed under the auspices of the Bermuda Maritime Museum.

"Brasse Coins," Smith Said. Captain John Smith's 1624 description of the tokens as being brasse was likely little more than his usual bombast at work. In 1624, bullionism still reigned. English copper coinage was still in its infancy, and had not yet been elevated to the status of royal coinage. There were a few regally sanctioned copper coinage series, but their members were still not royal coinage. It is doubtful, given what is known today of Smith's ego and social stature, that he would have looked favorably on small copper coins. It is even more likely that copper coins with pigs on them would have elicited an even worse reaction. Smith denigrated them by proclaiming them to be made of brass—a debased copper.

In fairness to Smith, metallurgy was not quite the science in the 1620s that it is today; the distinction between copper, brass, and bronze was not clear (*Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History* 1998, 2–3). Consequently, the three terms were often used interchangeably. This, too, may have been the inspiration for Smith's comment. In either case, Smith's proclamation withstood the test of time unchallenged. Only recently has it been proven that the tokens were not made of brass. The Bermuda Maritime Museum performed microgranular metallurgical analysis on two of the Castle Island specimens, and has conclusively proven the coins to be made of copper (*Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History* 2–6,

31–33). That is, as pure as copper could be refined in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Silvering? A major attribute that is frequently used to describe specimens of the Somers Ilands tokens is whether or not they possess any "silvering" on their protected surfaces. For many years, keen-eyed observers of this issuance have noticed that some specimens had been plated, or washed, with a thin layer of silvery metal. Despite the widespread acknowledgment of this attribute, supposition and myth comprised the entire body of knowledge on this subject, rather than hard scientific knowledge and facts.

Numismatists have long assumed that the silvery coating was silver. Even Walter Breen fell victim to this assumption: He expounded upon the electrochemical reactions of silver and copper when exposed to salt and humidity (Breen 1988, 9–10) (both of which are abundant in Bermuda). Breen explained that the silvering was rarely still evident on the tokens, because exposure to chloride ions (found in the ocean's spray) combined with the silver to trigger a chemical reaction between the silver and the "brassy core" of the tokens. Breen's theory accommodated two empirically observed phenomena:

1. The silvering wasn't apparent on all specimens
2. The vast majority of known hogge money specimens were badly corroded

Unfortunately, as neat and tidy as his theory may have been, it was fundamentally flawed because it assumed the silvery metal was silver without having attempted to establish the veracity of that assumption.

Mythology was also developed to explain that this silvering was added to appease the unhappy colonists of Somers Ilands. Ostensibly, the silver coating would have added some small measure of intrinsic value or merely improved the aesthetics of the tokens. In either event, the attempt failed, and all of the tokens ultimately disappeared. Implicit in this mythology was the "fact" that the silvering was applied at either the time of issue or manufacture. Unfortunately, this could not be proved or disproved due to the more than 200 years that separated the tokens' manufacture and their rediscovery.

Thanks to the metallurgical research conducted under the auspices of the Bermuda Maritime Museum, it is now known that the silvery metal

is not silver: it is tin! More importantly, it is now known that the tin was applied via a quick dip in molten tin shortly after manufacture. Metallurgical evidence supports the application via hot dipping, and archaeological evidence supports the application contemporary with the tokens' manufacture.

This evidence suggests that the adventurers, upon learning of the colonists' disdain for the new tokens, attempted to address their complaints. Rather than manufacture a new set of coins using silver, they opted to dip subsequent batches of the copper tokens in a silver-colored base metal: tin! It is likely that the colonists were neither fooled by the tin nor assuaged by its appearance. On the contrary, it would have been immediately obvious to the colonists that the "silver" tokens held no premium in value relative to their plain copper counterparts, as all circulated at the same value.[76] Historical accounts of the Somers' Ilands do not record the colonists' reaction to the tinned tokens. However, both tinned and untinned specimens were discovered in the ditch on Castle Island. This evidence strongly suggests that the tinned specimens failed to increase the colonists' acceptance of hogge money.

Thick and Thin Planchets. Numismatists have long known that specimens of hogge money were struck using planchets of varying thickness. Consequently, individual specimens are described as having been struck on either thin or thick planchets. Although history has not yet yielded a definitive explanation for this disparity, numismatists and historians alike have developed some theories. One theory held that the tokens were tied to the value of tobacco. As the cost of tobacco fluctuated, so too must the weight of the tokens. This theory was based on the fact that tobacco circulated concurrently with hogge money within the Somers' Ilands.

The absolute lack of historical documentation on this subject results in uncertainty. It simply is not possible to prove or disprove this theory. However, if one were to assume that this theory were true, one would have to accept the notion that the adventurers contrived a fairly complex monetary system for their new land patent in the Somers' Ilands. This point is inconsistent with what is known of the colony's socioeconomic and monetary systems. The adventurers did everything in their power to reduce the costs of operating their land patents. A private coinage was a necessary evil, the

need for which they had foreseen as early as 1612. Yet they failed to deliver anything for approximately four years. For four long years, the adventurers authorized their governors to pay non-agricultural wages with I.O.U.'s. For four long years, the adventurers passively consented to the development of an economy based on an awkward and cumbersome combination of exchange mechanisms that included bills of trade, barter, tobacco, and even some foreign bullion-based coins.

When the adventurers finally did deliver a circulating currency in 1616, it was a crudely manufactured, base-metal tokenage that was only valid for local use. Thus, it seems illogical that the adventurers would have tied the value of these primitive tokens to anything of real value.

A more plausible theory is that the thick planchets were used in the initial production run of tokens, and subsequent production used thinner planchets. The two benefits of using thinner planchets were to facilitate striking the tokens and to reduce the cost of producing the tokens

This theory is better aligned with what is now known of the adventurers' ingenuity in reducing the costs of supporting their land patent.

The Manufacturing Process. The Bermuda Maritime Museum's metallurgical examination of the microcrystalline structures of two sectioned hogge money tokens reveal a surprising amount of data about how those tokens were made. The same photographs demonstrate microcrystalline structures within the copper that are consistent with the process of annealing. Other microcrystalline structures reveal the angle at which each token was struck. Together, these data prove that the manufacture process followed the following order:

1. Planchets were formed in a manner that promoted work-hardening of the metal
2. The planchets were annealed to soften them
3. The planchets were hand-struck with a hammer
4. The struck planchets were, in some cases, quickly dipped in a vat of molten tin to produce a thin layer of "silvering"

Breen's Secrets

In his landmark tome, *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins,* Walter Breen explores some of the subtle die varieties of the Somers Ilands

coinage. In particular, Breen seemed fascinated by small "pellets" that were arranged around the hog's feet on the obverse. Despite his apparent fascination with these devices, Breen stopped short of positing a new classification system to replace Pridmore's rudimentary system.

The various known denominations feature different configurations of pellets, including geometric arrangement and quantities of pellets, tufts of grass, and other shapes. For example, shillings usually exhibit a single "pellet" on the ground between the hog's front and rear feet along with tufts of grass. Sixpence specimens feature a diamond-shaped grouping of four pellets in approximately the same location as well as a tuft of grass. Threepence specimens have a five-pellet grouping arranged in the shape of a square and positioned in front of the hog's forelegs at approximately the 8 o'clock position. Most likely, this shape depicts a flower with one pellet forming the flower's center and the other four pellets as petals. Finally, the twopence features a star-shaped device that is frequently interpreted to be a flower. Two obverse varieties are known amongst twopence specimens. They are known as the Large and Small Star varieties.[77] The stars are accompanied in the obverse field by a pattern of dots, or pellets.

Lacking a ready explanation for such devices, Breen saw them as the secret markings of the manufacturer and suggested that they were anti-counterfeiting devices. Today, given the benefit of two centuries of cumulative research into Somers Ilands tokens, it can be definitively stated that these pellets were not anti-counterfeiting devices. These were not regal coins. Hogge money was a very obscure, privately manufactured tokenage. As such, they were intended for an extremely limited field of use. Thus, there would have been no motive for or profit in engaging in the illicit duplication of these tokens.

Another fact undermining the logic of the anti-counterfeiting interpretation was that the tokens were a dismal failure. The very fact that the colonists so quickly reviled and rejected the authentic tokens of Somers' Ilands makes it extremely unlikely that anyone who knew of their existence would undertake the expense of illicitly duplicating them. Quite simply, there was no market for them at all.

It is much more probable that these secret markings were nothing more than the innocuous creative attempts by the die-sinker to add aesthetic designs and appeal. All of the secret markings can be interpreted as natural

objects that could be found in the Somers' Ilands, including flowers, rocks, and tufts of coarse grass.

A New Classification System

The existing Pridmore numbering system dates back over forty years. The cumulative knowledge base of hogge money has advanced significantly since Major Pridmore developed his classification system. These advances have almost completely made his system obsolete. The Bermuda Monetary Authority has amended Pridmore's numbers with their own extensions. Even with these amendments, the classification system is incapable of gracefully accommodating the discovery of new die varieties and die marriages much less new denominations.

Die variety identification has historically been hindered by four factors:

1. The limited quantities of hogge money that have been discovered
2. The extensive environmental damage to the surfaces of many of the surviving specimens
3. The relatively poor strike of many of the surviving specimens, which resulted in incomplete sets of devices
4. The high dispersion of specimens in collections around the world

Today, these factors are rapidly yielding to technological advances. Greater numbers of hogge money tokens have been retrieved from their obscurity, thanks to a variety of factors. Such factors include the maturation of sophisticated yet inexpensive metal detectors, as well as increased archaeological activity in Bermuda's oldest inhabited regions. Similarly, technological advances in digital communications and imaging technologies have almost completely obviated the fourth of these hindrances. It no longer matters how widely the specimens are dispersed, as high-quality images can be shared around the world. Although such technologies have not completely been taken advantage of, the potential for meaningful die-variety analysis now exists. The only remaining challenges are those faced by any researcher of any primitive coinage: weak strikes coupled with environmental damage. Neither of these factors has completely precluded die-variety analysis of other primitive coinages, particularly as the known population of specimens increases over time. Thus, it is reasonable to expect

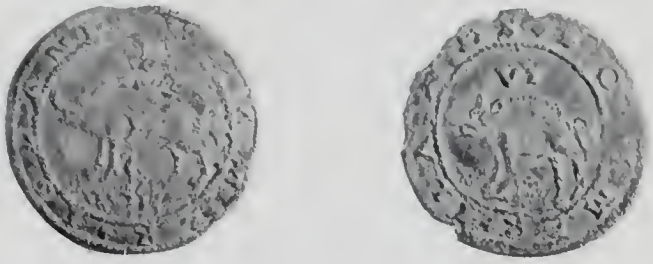

Figure 11. The two known sixpence obverse die varieties. The specimen on the left features a much larger hogge, set higher in the inner field, and features the modern spelling of ISLANDS. Stars separate the words in the legend (SOMMER and ISLANDS). The specimen on the right is typical of the only previously known sixpence obverse and features a smaller hogge, flared crosses in the legend, and the archaic spelling of ILANDS. Note the vertical branch encircled by a vine on the figure to the left.

that additional hogge money die varieties and marriages will be identified in the future.

Limitations of the Existing Classification Systems. Existing classification systems consist of both formal and informal mechanisms. The formal mechanisms include the Pridmore system and the recent proprietary extensions to the Pridmore system that were devised by the Bermuda Monetary Authority. Both of these formal mechanisms, while beneficial, are incapable of uniquely describing specific die marriages. This limitation has not proven an impediment for one simple reason: all previously known varieties were limited to just one side of each hogge money denomination. In other words, there has not been a need to describe marriages of multiple obverse/reverse die varieties.

Informal mechanisms include adjectival descriptions of major die attributes. For example, the large versus small sails found on shillings, large versus small portholes varieties of sixpences, and the large versus small star varieties of the twopence are all adjectival descriptions of a single die attribute. This crude but effective approach runs into difficulty when a third variety is identified. For example, consider the illustration (Fig. 11) that contains sixpence obverse die varieties.

Figure 11 demonstrates that there are, in fact, two distinct sixpence obverse varieties. The first known variety featured flared crosses that separated

the words in the obverse legend. An important diagnostic was the spelling of the word ILAND: the archaic spelling (sans S) was used. Heidi Leseur recently identified the second obverse die variety, during her conservation efforts on behalf of the Bermuda Maritime Museum. This variety features a significantly larger hogge than the previously known variety. Other significant diagnostics include the use of stars (rather than flared crosses) in the obverse legend, the use of the more modern spelling ISLANDS, and the presence of a new environmental design element. This new element appears behind the left foreleg and resembles a vine coiled around a vertical branch.

Another Castle Island specimen bears similar design diagnostics but is not quite as well struck or preserved. This specimen is struck off-center, with a partial loss of the obverse legend. The word ISLANDS is truncated; thus, it is impossible to determine what spelling was used. However, the legend does feature stars, not crosses, and the design features a noticeably larger hogge as well as the vertical branch with vine.

This is likely a distinct die variety, rather than a second specimen of the obverse variety identified by Heidi Leseur, as it contains at least two key different features. First, the hogge is much more rounded than the hogges on other sixpence varieties. Second, the right rear leg features a very prominent thigh. The thigh on Leseur's variety is not evident and is "hidden" by the hogge's body.

The identification of two new sixpence obverse varieties is significant, as there are now a total of five known dies used to strike this denomination: three obverse and two reverse dies. Thus, for the first time in the numismatic history of this series, it is necessary to identify die marriages to describe specific tokens.

The Sportack Classification System. The key tenets of a new hogge money classification system are the use of five elements, each of which identifies a specific attribute. These elements, and their corresponding attributes, are presented in Table 1.

The first three of these attributes (denomination and obverse and reverse die identification numbers) give the numismatist a means of describing a group of specimens that were struck with the same pair of dies. The numeric identification of specific dies enables a more specific identification of the

Table 1. The Sportack attribution system.

Attribute	Description
Denomination	Roman numeral denomination of the specimen as indicated on its obverse. For example, shilling specimens are denominated with the Roman numeral XII, or 12, on the obverse, whereas twopence are denominated with II.
Obverse die variety	The obverse die variety should be expressed as a number. New obverse die varieties are accommodated by incrementing this attribute number. For the purposes of consistency, the obverse is assumed to be the side with the hogge.
Reverse die variety	The reverse die variety should be expressed as a number. New reverse die varieties are accommodated by incrementing this attribute number. The reverse is assumed to be the side of the token that features the sailing ship.
Planchet	Thick or thin, expressed as K for thick, and N for thin
Metal coating	Tinned or untinned, expressed as T for tinned, and U for untinned

multiple, unique diagnostics that characterize specific hand-cut dies rather than a mere adjectival description of one of its diagnostics.

The final two attributes can be unique to individual specimens within each die marriage. It is theoretically possible for these attributes to vary from specimen to specimen. Consequently they should be identified per individual specimen, rather than integrated within each known die marriage.

It is important to note that the purpose of this highly specific classification system is not solely to identify rarities within each denomination. The extreme rarity of all denominations means that all specimens, regardless of die marriage, are valuable and desirable. The benefit of this system is to provide the mechanism by which a more scientific cataloging of known die attributes and die marriages can be conducted. Such information can be

Table 2. Catalogue of die marriages.

Sportack Number	Numismatic Attribution
XII/01/01	Shilling - Small Sails obverse. No reverse die varieties have yet been identified.
XII/02/01	Shilling - Large Sails obverse. No reverse die varieties have yet been identified.
VI/01/01	Sixpence - Small Hogge obverse with no S in ILANDS, flared cross used to separate words in obverse legend. Small Portholes reverse.
VI/01/02	Sixpence - Small Hogge obverse with no S in ILANDS, flared cross used to separate words in obverse legend. Large Portholes reverse.
VI/02/01	Sixpence - Large Hogge obverse with S in ISLANDS, stars in obverse legend. Design element resembling a vine on vertical branch appears behind left foreleg. Small Portholes reverse. The discovery piece was excavated at Castle Island, and was identified as a new die variety by Heidi Leseur.
VI/03/01	Sixpence - large, rounded, hogge obverse with vertical vine on branch. Discovery piece is struck off-center, resulting in a partial loss of legend, but obverse legend does feature stars. Small Portholes reverse. This piece was also excavated at Castle Island and bears many of the diagnostics of VI/02/01 except for the rounded shape of the hogge. The author has tentatively identified this as the third distinct sixpence obverse die variety.
III/01/01	Threepence - no obverse or reverse die varieties have yet been identified. All extant specimens, apparently, made from same die marriage.
II/01/01	Twopence - Large Star obverse, with II at unequal heights. No reverse die varieties have yet been identified.
II/02/01	Twopence - Small Star obverse, with II at equal heights. No reverse die varieties have yet been identified.

invaluable in better understanding these tokens. For example, data collected on all known specimens in this manner would quickly reveal whether the theory of three strikings (Williams et al. 1997, 43–44) is accurate in its current form, or whether the theory needs to be amended to include additional manufacturing batches to accommodate additional attribute varieties. It may even be possible to identify the sequence in which the various dies were used by carefully examining die marriages vis-a-vis levels of detail that remain evident on specific tokens.

Catalog of Known Die Marriages. Given that the population of Somers' Ilands was relatively low (approximately 400 upon Tucker's arrival), and that the tokens were intended for use in compensating just a subset of that population, it is safe to assume that the quantity minted of each denomination is relatively low. Low mintages normally suggest the need for a relatively small quantity of dies for each denomination. This would result in little, if any, die variety. However, many extant specimens exhibit die cracks. Such damage attests to the toll that the violent and primitive manufacturing method took on the dies. Given that hand-cut dies are individually distinctive, die varieties and die marriage varieties do exist in the series. Identifying new varieties and marriages is probably just a matter of time and effort. Having a classification system for expressing die varieties and marriages will facilitate such identification efforts.

The final two attributes may be omitted to describe a population of specimens that were struck with the same die marriage. Thus, XII/01/01 describes all shillings that were struck with the only known obverse die and the reverse die known adjectivally as Small Sails. The complete catalogue of known die marriages is presented in Table 2.

As is evident in Table 2, this system enables accurate description of individual specimens. To illustrate the potential precision of this new classification system, consider this example: XII/01/01/K/U. The significance of these fields is explained in Table 3.

This classification system should demonstrate adequate scalability regardless of how many die marriages, or even new denominations, are eventually discovered. Ideally, this system will even stimulate such discoveries by providing the framework for their identification.

Table 3. Example of the use of hogge money attribute fields to describe a specific token.

Attribute 1	Attribute 2	Attribute 3	Attribute 4	Attribute 5
XII	01	01	K	U
12 pence, or shilling	Only known obverse die	First known reverse die (commonly known as Small Sails)	Specimen was minted on a thick planchet	Specimen exhibits no evidence of tinning. It is untinned.

CONCLUSIONS

Careful examination of the scant source documents that chronicle the early history of Bermuda, in combination with scientific and empiric observations, has enabled a new level of understanding of hogge money. The facts and new theories based on facts that were presented throughout this document are summarized in this section for your convenience.

Physical Attributes

The physical attributes of hogge money include the metallic composition of the planchets, the metallic composition of the silvery plating, and the monetary denominations.

• Many specimens of hogge money have been found with a light silver-colored plating. This plating has historically been assumed to be silver. The logic was that silver plating would make the coins more acceptable by either improving them aesthetically or innately by adding value. In fact, the "silvering" wasn't silver: it was tin.

• The tin was applied contemporary to issuance. The coins' lengthy absence from posterity created an uncertainty as to whether the tinning was original or applied after rediscovery. Archaeological evidence has proven that the tin plating was applied prior to 1620.

• Hogge money was not made from "brasse". The first recorded reference to this misnomer was Captain John Smith in his 1624 *Generall Historie*. In fact, hogge money was made from almost pure annealed copper and then manually struck with a hammer.

Hogge money was manufactured on both thick and thin planchets. This indicates that they were manufactured in different batches and at different times.

Numismatic Facts

- Hogge money is known to exist in four denominations: twopence, threepence, sixpence, and shilling. Other denominations, including the penny and groat, may have been struck, although no physical or historical evidence exists to support such a supposition.
- Hogge money specimens are not coins; they are the private tokens of the Somers' Ilands Company. As such, hogge money is most properly categorized as failed company scrip from England's bullionist era.
- A new sixpence obverse die variety has been identified. This new variety was discovered during the Castle Island archaeological expedition and features two distinct diagnostics. The first diagnostic is that the hogge is slightly larger than on other specimens. The more obvious diagnostic is the spelling of the word ISLAND in the motto. On every other known sixpence, this word is rendered in the older spelling, ILAND.
- Closer examination of two of the Castle Island sixpence specimens will likely reveal that a third obverse die variety exists in this denomination. This specimen was struck slightly off-center, resulting in a partial loss of legend, but photographic evidence reveals that the hogge is of a different shape than the two shapes previously identified. This specimen is closely related to the variety identified by Heidi Leseur as it features stars in the obverse legend and the vertical branch with vine. However, an additional diagnostic that differs from Leseur's variety is the hogge's right rear thigh, which is quite prominent on this variety. On other known obverse varieties, the hogge's body obscures the right rear thigh.

The existing classification systems, including Pridmore numbers and BMA extensions, are inadequate for gracefully accommodating new discoveries of die varieties and/or denominations. Pridmore's system is limited in its ability to uniquely identify anything but denominations. The BMA extensions were a welcome improvement that enabled the identification of specific die varieties, but in its current form this system cannot be used to identify die marriages. A new classification system is required that is

capable of identifying individual specimens based on denomination and obverse/reverse die marriages.

Historic Facts

- Hogge money was designed and sanctioned for use only within the Somers' Ilands.
- Hogge money was delivered to the Somers' Ilands Colony on 16 May 1616. It was the long-promised base coyne with which the governor was to pay company workers.
- Hogge money was a tokenized medium of exchange that only circulated because of the colonists' fear of Dan Tucker. The tokens were reviled instantly by the colonists, and pejoratively called hogge money.
- Hogge money ceased circulating in approximately June or July of 1619, concurrent with Tucker's departure for England.
- Hogge money was manufactured in at least three batches over an indeterminate amount of time. The minimum number of batches is identified by three distinct general varieties: thick planchet, thin planchet, and silvered specimens. No records exist that can identify exactly when the tokens were struck. It is obvious from the surviving records of the Somers' Ilands Company that the tokens were promised as early as 1612.
- Walter Breen was the first person to identify evidence that suggested a discontinuous, or episodic, manufacturing process. He found rust on the obverse of a shilling specimen. Given that the copper was incapable of rusting, the rust was likely the result of the token being struck with a rusty die.

The Future of Hogge Money

The future of hogge money, 150-plus years after it was rediscovered, is remarkably promising. The Bermudian government, particularly the Bermuda Monetary Authority and the Bermuda Maritime Museum, are committed to the preservation of this particular aspect of the islands' cultural heritage. As such, there will continue to be archaeological and scientific research conducted, some of which will undoubtedly broaden the base of knowledge of Hogge money. It is even quite possible that additional specimens will be discovered, and new die varieties identified.

An even greater portent of hogge money's future is the collective decision of the Bermuda Monetary Authority and the Bermuda Maritime Museum to retain possession of these precious artifacts, including the nineteen newly discovered Castle Island specimens. The result of this decision is a collection without peer. For the first time in history, a large number of hogge money specimens have been accumulated in one collection. This will enable the first meaningful survey of physical attributes and die varieties of this important aspect of numismatic and colonial history.

Acknowledgments

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my wife, Karen. I never cease to be awed and inspired by her unwavering love, support, and encouragement for my research and authoring activities.

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NOTES

1. The secondary market for the recently discovered Somers' Ilands coinage was not very mature and featured widely divergent ranges of market prices. Two relatively contemporary

price guides published prices that their publishers were willing to pay for various specimens of numismatic interest. One guide, *Rare Coins of America,* was a published solicitation of the Numismatic Bank of Boston's offer to purchase specimens at specific prices. This book was copyrighted in 1889, and contained a complete list of prices that the bank was willing to pay for specific coins. The bank was offering $100 for a hogge money shilling that graded good. Another guide, the 1893 edition of *The Coin and Stamp Guide,* suggested a market price of approximately $10 (no condition specified). It is worth noting that the publishers of *The Coin and Stamp Guide* were only offering $1.50 for an 1856 Flying Eagle small cent, so their prices appear to have been deflated.

2. Montroville Wilson Dickeson of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, manufactured high-quality struck replicas for sale to numismatists in the 1850s.

3. Verdigris is a destructive, spalling oxidation of copper-based metals. It is also known as bronze disease. Treatment of infected specimens is difficult and seldom completely successful (Leseur 1998, 6–7).

4. The die varieties identified by Major Pridmore have been assigned "Pridmore Numbers". These varieties are presented in this section (Pridmore 1965).

5. Colonial coinage issued in other mercantile colonies did not replicate the full spectrum of the pound sterling monetary system, as evidenced by the subset of denominations discovered. A specific example includes the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which manufactured its own coinage.

6. Lefroy contains the full text of the company's instructions to Governor Tucker.

7. Professor Gordon Watts of East Carolina University provided a detailed examination of the ship featured on the coin vis-a-vis naval architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

8. Surmising mintage quantities or ratios from survival rates is hazardous, at best. As will be demonstrated later in this document, archaeological evidence from Castle Island suggests that the sixpence was the workhorse of the Somers' Ilands monetary system.

9. Williams et al. (1997, 57–59) states that there are six known specimens, yet lists seven in its tabular inventory of the denomination. A recent telephone conversation between Eric P. Newman and the author revealed that Mr. Newman has recently purchased a previously undocumented specimen. Mr. Newman also believes that this coin, the second Somers' Ilands threepence in his collection, was struck using different dies than his other specimen. This new threepence was also described as having been double-struck, which could have profound implications on assumptions regarding the manufacturing method used to produce these coins.

10. The ex-Norweb specimen, auctioned by Bowers and Merena in 1987 as Lot 1140, is described as having a diameter of just 7 mm—less than half of the typical diameter! Curiously, this specimen weighs a reported 23.9 grains, making it one of the heavier of the known specimens. If both the weight and diameter were accurately recorded in the Williams book, the specimen would have to have been struck on a very thick planchet. Unfortunately, there is absolutely no documentation supporting a thick planchet being used to make this or any other twopence. Thus, unless the specimen can be re-examined, one must assume that the Williams book made a typographical error, and the coin really measures 17 mm.

11. Butler's *Historye* yielded the first truth, whereas the other two come from Captain

Smith's *Generall Historie.* Both have been quoted extensively and repeatedly by later sources, and have become truisms, accepted without condition or reservation.

12. Crosby also tells us that the first two specimens discovered were shillings. This, plus the locally significant indicia and features of the coins, led to speculation that they were not really coins, but fantasy pieces of unknown origin and purpose.

13. Rawlings (1898) identifies the hogge money specimens as privately manufactured tokens issued for the Somers' Ilands colony, rather than legal tender. This text also provides the context for understanding the distinctions between regal coins and private tokens.

14. Williams et al. (1997) offer the most complete inventory of extant hogge money specimens. Based on the survival rates implied by this list, it is apparent that the shilling was the most common denomination. Sixpences were not as common as shillings but have survived in far greater quantities than the twopence or threepence denominations. Surmising ratios of manufactured denominations from survival rates is hazardous and uncertain but appears to indicate that these two denominations were the primary denominations circulating in the Somers' Ilands.

15. Yeoman (1999), the definitive contemporary guide to American numismatics, identifies the hogge money coins as the first colonial coins to appear in the New World—a careful enough choice of words, except that the title of the book explicitly identifies the contents as being "United States Coins".

16. Williams claims that hogge money was the first issue of British colonial coinage, and cites an American work, Evans' *History of the US Mint,* as evidence to support his claim.

17. The noises that spooked the sailors were nothing more than the unfamiliar calls of the islands' fauna, including the cahow (a nocturnal bird). Although quite rare today, the cahow birds were so numerous in the sixteenth century as to literally fill the night sky. Hunting parties from the survivors of the *Sea Adventure* shipwreck of 1609 reported killing hundreds of them in one spot without noticeably diminishing their population. The loud, shrill cries of so many birds at night instilled fear in the hearts all those close enough to hear.

18. This event is frequently cited as occurring in 1515, but evidence irrefutably places the date prior to 1511. *Legatio Babylonica,* by Peter Martyr, is the earliest known map identifying the archipelago known today as Bermuda. This map was published in 1511.

19. Investors in merchant-based colonial efforts were known as adventurers. Early adventurers, such as Sir Walter Raleigh, actually traveled to their colonies. In some cases, adventurers personally inhabited their claimed land. Over time, the dangers of colonization were recognized and adventurers became less "adventurous" in that they were less willing to take such a personal interest in their investments.

20. Sir Thomas Gates was the governor-elect of the Virginia Colony at Jamestown—the Fleet's destination.

21. It is likely that this was the *Sea Adventure*'s first long-distance excursion, as it experienced serious leaking problems. Normally, such problems would have been discovered and rectified the first time that the ship sailed while carrying any load. These leaks were attributed to an improper or incomplete caulking of the ship's joints.

22. Captain Newport confesses to the deliberateness of his effort on the epitaph he created for Sir George Somers' grave a year later "... We were forced to runne her ashore (by reason of a leake) under a point that bore southeast from the northern point of the Island which

wee discovered first the eight and twentieth day of July, 1609" (Kennedy 1971, 52).

23. This number included the reinforcements brought over on the other ships of the Relief Fleet.

24. A signet ring bearing Somers' crest and dating to the seventeenth century washed ashore in New England. This find supports the theory that the storm blew Somers and his ship to New England.

25. Fortunately, the 150 colonists delivered to Jamestown by the *Patience* and *Deliverance* were industrious. They managed to secure enough provisions to see the colony through the winter of 1610–11, all the while laboring under the belief that the *Patience* was lost at sea with all hands. Perhaps the belief that no additional relief was coming helped motivate them.

26. Ambergris, sometimes identified in ancient documents as *amber grease,* was a thick, oily, and foul-smelling substance vomited up by sick whales. Ambergris was highly prized as a key ingredient in the manufacture of perfume. Perfume manufacture, during the seventeenth century, entailed a process known as enfleurage, in which an oily substance would be placed in close proximity to crushed flowers. The oil would absorb the flowers' fragrance, the first critical step in manufacturing perfume. Consequently, ambergris was highly prized and extremely valuable. The three kings had accidentally stumbled onto a phenomenal treasure. One large chunk weighed approximately 80 pounds, and there were numerous other chunks of various sizes. A single ounce could sell in London for as much as £3 sterling, so this find was really quite valuable...if they could get their treasure to market!

27. Maximum wages were quite common during Europe's colonial era. Colonization resulted in tremendous economic growth for the monarchies that sponsored the colonies. This growth was attended by rampant inflation. Thus, establishing maximum wages was a convenient way to guarantee higher future profits for employers by reducing the real, or effective, wages of employees over time.

28. Butler records that the colonists, upon receiving their new "coinage" scoffed at them and derisively called them "hogge money"!

29. History does not record any such military intervention on behalf of a mercantile colony in the seventeenth century. Instead, colonies such as Jamestown and the Somers' Ilands were forced to establish private militia and defense infrastructures to cope with threats from either indigenous peoples or foreign forces. The Somers' Ilands Company paid workers to be sentries in lookout towers as well as soldiers. Both were necessary to protect against seaborne attack.

30. Although today we automatically categorize meat as food, seventeenth-century contracts and historical accounts typically identified meat separately and distinctly from food. This was likely due to the difficulties of obtaining and preserving meats at that time. Consequently, contractually agreeing to provide both meat and food afforded would-be colonists an extra measure of assuredness that all their nutritional requirements would be accommodated.

31. In *Isle of the Devils,* Kennedy tells us that wrecking was an important source of otherwise unobtainable commodities. On one occasion, a ship washed ashore within sight of St. George's Church while a service was in progress. Within minutes, word of a "turtle in the net" had spread throughout the church. The entire congregation (including the priest)

had vacated the church and was rowing out to lighten the beached vessel's load.

32. It was no secret that Spain considered the British colonists interlopers usurping their original claim to the Isle of the Devils. Juan Bermúdez had originally claimed the islands for Spain as early as 1509, but Spain had failed to establish a permanent colony there. King Philip of Spain took little notice of, or interest in, Las Barmudas. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, Senior Admiral of the Spanish Navy, however, was adamant about restoring Spanish sovereignty in Las Barmudas. He tried repeatedly to organize an assault and even ordered the extermination of the impudent British on Las Barmudas, but none of his ships' captains could be persuaded to undertake that initiative.

33. A bill of trade was little more than an I.O.U. that the company handed out by for goods received. These bills could be redeemed for company merchandise, including shoes, clothing, food, or any other goods not present, or available, in the colony. Colonists exchanged these bills much like currency, as the company certainly did not care who redeemed the bill.

34. The historical accounts of seventeenth-century Somer's Ilands are rife with accounts of Bermudians turning to privateering, as well as "wrecking" ships that ran aground. Such was their desperation for commodities including iron for smithing, hard currencies, clothing, meats, grains, ropes and nets, etc. Of these various accounts, the book by Sister Kennedy devoted to telling the story of the most successful of all Bermudian privateers is the most comprehensive in its coverage of this aspect of the islands' history.

35. King James I of England was also King James VI of Scotland. He was the son of Mary Queen of Scots, and his coronation as King of England united the crowns of England and Scotland. This united kingdom was known as Great Britain, and James was its first king.

36. King James III (1460–1488) of Scotland was the first king to issue copper farthings.

37. King James' unite, or unit, coin bore the Latin inscription, FACIAM. EOS. IN. GENTEM. VNAM. This translates to "I will make them one people". This is just one example of the legends James had inscribed on his regal coins to reinforce the unification of England and Scotland.

38. Both King James I and the adventurers anticipated the use of privately manufactured prior to the passage of this law. The charter granted the Somers' Ilands Company granted the right to manufacture, and use, a private money within their land patent.

39. One example of coinage manufactured and marketed privately under the auspices of this law was William Woods' Rosa Hibernia series.

40. The Jamestown colony featured communal stores of produce. All shared equally in the harvest, regardless of how directly they were involved in its production. They also enjoyed a native populace with which to barter. Thus, they had far less need for a local money than did the Somers' Ilands colonists.

41. The Virginia Company's claim to the Somers' Ilands was invalid for several reasons. First, both Spain and Portugal had already claimed the islands in the century preceding Somers and Gates. Neither, however, had bothered to establish a permanent settlement on their claimed lands. Second, the Virginia Company's charter granted the company exclusive rights to economically develop a specific geographic region, which extended 100 miles out to sea. This distance was later increased to 300 leagues. Neither distance, however, was suf-

ficient to include the Somers' Ilands within the Virginia Company's domain. Despite the geographic fallacy on which the claim was based, no one disputed the Virginia Company's claim. Curiously, even Spain and Portugal failed to challenge the English settlement, although both were irked by it.

42. The numismatic and historical evidence includes the undeniably non-regal design features of hogge money, as well as the company charter and commission letters (known as Instructions) of Governors Moore and Tucker.

43. These instructions are presented in their entirety by Lefroy ([1877] 1981, I, 58–62).

44. In the context of the early seventeenth century's bullionism, it is logical that scrip would be hammered out of a metal planchet (base or precious), rather than printed on paper.

45. Captain John Smith appears not to have been aware of the nuances of this aspect of English law. Otherwise, he may have more accurately described the coinage as being copper, rather than brass. Still, Captain Smith's memoirs abound with bombast, egotism, and a general celebration of maleness. Thus, it is possible that he would have embellished his disdain for the private tokens by claiming they were made of debased copper (brass) regardless of what the facts were.

46. The inscription of the hogge money shillings read "Sommers Islands". Until recently, all of the smaller sixpence specimens, having less surface area on which to engrave the devices, were known to use the older spelling of the "islands." This inscription read: "Sommers Ilands". Curiously, no attempt to conserve planchet real estate was made by adhering to the correct spelling of Admiral Sir George Somers' surname!

47. Not all colonists were company-paid workers. Some were relatives of the adventurers, dispatched to care for the plantations. Others were enlisted as sharecroppers. Many of the colonists indentured themselves either to the company or to individual adventurers. The compensation of such indentured servants was explicitly documented in the papers of indenture that they signed. Company-paid workers were those that were employed in public works projects, such as building roads, forts, and other public infrastructure that was essential to the islands, but not necessarily revenue-producing.

48. Specific and historically documented examples of the colonists' passive-aggressive mutinous behaviors include the "wrecking crews" that greeted beached ships, consorting and trading with pirates and privateers, and concealing the true volume of tobacco produced (thereby cheating the adventurers out of their fair share).

49. Slavery in the seventeenth century differed greatly from the slavery practiced in nineteenth-century America. For example, slavery could be imposed as a punishment for criminal behavior. Governor Tucker enslaved numerous colonists for criminal acts. Such slaves became the property of the company. Similarly, prisoners of war were often sold into slavery by their captors. Curiously, slaves often enjoyed a higher quality of life than did indentured servants, as sponsors sought to extract as much work as possible from an indentured servant during the indenture period.

50. The colonists quickly discovered that the sap of the palmetto could be fermented into a pleasing alcoholic beverage, which they dubbed *bibbey*. Deprived of almost any other reliable source of alcohol, the palmetto population on the Ilands was quickly decimated.

51. The adventurers' expectations for sources of cash-generating commodities are documented in their instructions, and various subsequent letters, to Governor Tucker.

52. Tucker's instructions (Lefroy I, 116) authorized him to pay 13 shillings, 4 pence per ounce of ambergris. Anyone who found ambergris was obligated to turn it for compensation at this level. Failure to turn in any ambergris found would result in confiscation, forfeiture of the money, and any discipline that Tucker saw fit to administer. His instructions do not specify the currency to be used for this compensation, although it seems highly likely that Tucker would have used hogge money for this purpose.

53. The nature of this fundamental conflict between colonist and adventurer is well documented and caricatured in the chicanery practiced by Governor Moore. Moore deliberately withheld the ambergris that was discovered by the three kings (Carter, Waters, and Chard), in direct violation of company orders. His rationale was that, by withholding the ambergris, he enjoyed some measure of negotiating leverage with the company. Thus, even the governor felt uncomfortable with respect to the level of support from the adventurers.

54. Lefroy, I, 150, indicates that by 1620, the adventurers realized that colonists simply would not forfeit such valuable commodities. Governor Butler is recorded as having paid "ready money" for half of all ambergris found. Ostensibly to encourage honesty, colonists were permitted to own half of any amount found, with the other half being the property of the company. The governor then bought the colonist's half at the rate of £3 per ounce. This is a substantial increase relative to the amount Tucker was authorized to pay. Again, there is no record of which currency the governor used to purchase the ambergris.

55. The company's royal charter granted it exclusive land patents. Thus, all of the produce from the lands belonged to the company. Ostensibly, the only commodities that the colonists would have to trade came from those lands. Consequently, the colonists were forbidden to trade with anyone but the company.

56. Lefroy, I, 57–58, describes the original division of lands in the colony. A share of land typically equalled 25 acres, and cost £12 10s. Other shares have been recorded as selling for as much as £25, or as little as £6 5s. This price disparity likely indicates that some shares were either more desirable, or better suited for farming, than other shares.

57. Lefroy, I, 105–119, contain the company's instructions to Tucker. The adventurers firmly believed that ambergris washed ashore in great quantity after every storm. The fact that so little found its way back to England was interpreted as proof of ongoing theft of company property. The adventurers apparently believed that by sharing the profits with a dedicated, on-site taskmaster, they would finally start to receive ambergris in the copious quantities that they had always expected.

58. One of the more egregious misuses of power that Tucker committed was to force colonists to build a sumptuous mansion for him—on land that he didn't own. These colonists were forced to temporarily abandon their own crops and labors to build this mansion. This single act further exacerbated Tucker's relationship with the colonists. Apparently, paying them with hogge money for their labors did little to assuage the bitterness, and may have even deepened it.

59. In fairness, reallocating colonists from agricultural pursuits to non-agricultural projects also impacted the adventurers, though one could argue that the adventurers' agricultural losses were mitigated by gains in other areas.

60. John Wood was hanged on 20 June 1616 (a mere thirty-four days after the arrival of Governor Tucker) for publicly speaking out against Governor Tucker in a manner that was rebellious, mutinous, and seditious. In fairness, Governor Tucker commuted more death sentences than were actually carried out during his term in office. Despite this, the colonists lived in mortal fear of Tucker, and dared not even speak out against him or his policies.

61. Precise dates are scarce in the original documents, but court records indicate that by 24 July 1619 Tucker had already departed. The specific document, *The Lords Arbitrament concerning Capt. Tucker,* specifies the allocation of lands on the Ilands to Tucker in lieu of payment for services rendered as governor. This decision resolves the dispute about Tucker's lands, which was raised on 10 March 1618.

62. Lefroy, 1, 131, indicates that the pound sterling monetary system was being used to establish values on goods stolen, in October 1618 assize. Assize records for the first half of 1619 do not indicate values but rather deal almost exclusively with issues that were not monetary in nature.

63. The original source documents are somewhat sketchy, if not inconsistent, with regards to the actual dates of Kendall's term in office as interim governor. Establishing the duration of Kendall's term in office is a matter of examining the known facts and extrapolating Tucker's likely departure date. It is known that Tucker departed aboard the *Blessing* in 1619, and that Governor Butler arrived aboard the *Warwick* on 20 October 1619. The *Blessing* had been moored at the Somers' Ilands and making preparations for the return trip to England. It is likely that the *Blessing,* a supply ship, would have left England as early as weather would permit in 1619, perhaps as early as April. Further, it is known that the journey took between six and seven weeks. Thus, it is likely that the ship arrived in either May or June. Tucker departed as soon as this supply ship could be made ready for the return journey, which would have required unloading supplies, reprovisioning the ship's stores, and loading the cargo. Such tasks likely required several weeks, establishing either a late June or early July departure date. It is known (via court records) that Tucker was already gone by 24 July 1619. Given this extrapolation of dates from the relatively scarce facts, it becomes apparent that Kendall served as interim governor for approximately three or four months before Butler arrived to replace him.

64. Lefroy, I, 164 identifies the criminal penalties meted out during the March 1620 assizes. These penalties are recorded in terms of days in prison, and/or a fine of several pounds of tobacco.

65. A monetary system could function with a single denomination, provided that it made extensive use of clipped coins. However, it appears that the first two shillings were complete and bore no evidence of having been clipped.

66. Crosby's book (page 18) states that he was not certain of the location in which the sixpence was found, but that he believed it to be St. George, Bermuda. Given that St. George was one of the first towns established in the Somers' Ilands, it would have been populated concurrent with the issuance of hogge money. Thus, Crosby's guess at the location of the find is plausible. Evidence of confusion, or at least misinformation, about the discovery of this sixpence can be found by comparing Crosby's text to the *Coins of Bermuda* book by Williams et al., page 46, whose author claims that the first sixpence rediscovered was found on the island of St. George. Further, this book states that Benjamin Betts found it! Given that

this book cites Crosby's work as a reference, it is likely that the author of *Coins of Bermuda* misinterpreted Crosby's statements and consequently misconstrued them.

67. Both sources provide, essentially, the same details. Williams cites Breen as a general reference book for his work. Both overlook the improbability of a copper coin surviving 250-plus years in salt water and remaining identifiable. It is more plausible that the child discovered the coin somewhere he/she should not have been, and made up this story to conceal the true place of discovery.

68. Lefroy's twopence later changed hands repeatedly and was obtained by the Smithsonian in 1970.

69. Breen cites the 1883 Lefroy tome as the source for J. Kermack Ford's discovery of a threepence in Bermuda, but the author has not been able to corroborate this reference.

70. Despite the obvious nature of Dickeson's copies, many numismatic works, including Evans' *History of the US Mint,* feature photographic plates of either Dickeson's copies, or crude cast copies of Dickeson's fantasy pieces, instead of genuine specimens. This may have occurred due to the extreme scarcity of the authentic specimens or by virtue of general ignorance. Many forgeries of Dickeson's designs have been made, including some that are somewhat more realistic in appearance, having been roughly cast in pot metal and copper-plated. The obvious diagnostic is the porosity of a cast surface. The author has such a specimen in his personal collection.

71. The Bermuda Monetary Authority, particularly Lori Blackwood, has been very supportive of this author's research of hogge money. The BMA and the Bermuda Maritime Museum work together to conserve, study, and display the largest collection of hogge money in the world.

72. In fairness, the Spanish ships were not warships; they were cargo ships. One of these ships was small and was being towed by the other. These ships had departed from Santo Domingo on 9 February 1614, bound for Spain. Having heard rumors of British inhabitation of Las Bermudas (which both Spain and Portugal had previously claimed but never inhabited), Captain Domingo de Ulivarri decided to reconnoiter. During his reconnaissance, Moore fired at him. Rather than risk ship, crew, and cargo, Ulivarri wisely broke off the engagement and continued on to Spain.

73. Eric P. Newman, a noted numismatist, author, and hogge-money enthusiast, suggested this theory to the author.

74. Lieutenant Wood, attempting to make sure that everything was in order for signaling the arrival of Interim Governor Kendall, thrust a metal pike into the breech of a loaded cannon while standing in front of the cannon. The pike must have sparked upon contact with either the cannonball or the inside wall of the cannon itself, as the cannon went off. The shot tore Wood to tatters, and blew him into the Harbor. He was fished out alive but suffered grievous injuries. He died the next day.

75. Gresham's Law predicts that bad money will drive good money out of an economy. A notable example of this was how readily American base-metal "sandwich" tokens drove silver coins out of circulation. Both enjoyed the same face value, but the silver coins enjoyed a greater intrinsic value. Thus, Americans hoarded the valuable coins and eagerly circulated (i.e., got rid of) the base-metal tokens. In the case of hogge money, the colonists eagerly

embraced a currency with intrinsic value (tobacco) and purged the base-metal tokens from their economy.

76. No records exist that suggest a timeframe for the introduction of tinned tokens. Evidence that tinned and untinned specimens circulated at the same value is implied in the assize records from 1616 to 1619. These records do not specifically identify hogge money as the medium of exchange, nor do they differentiate between the known token varieties. All fines and monetary sums in these records are identified solely as pounds, shillings, and pence.

77. Another diagnostic for the Large and Small Star varieties of twopence is the Roman numeral II. The second I on the Large Star variety is lower than the first I. Both characters are equal in height on the Small Star variety.

A Triple Numismatic Enigma of the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean: Haïti, Barbados, St. Kitts, or Vieques?

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In 1811, the government of Haïti, the world's first black republic, passed a law authorizing the piercing and counterstamping of Spanish-American and French coins, which circulated until 1814. However, the Haitian issue of 1811 remained unknown to foreign numismatists.

In 1885, Lyman H. Low auctioned an unattributed "West Indies" plug from an 8-reales (8R) piece, the plug being countermarked with a 2. In 1904, the English numismatist J. B. Caldecott published two photographs of an "uncountermarked" holey dollar and of the countermarked plug ("2"), both of which he listed as "unassigned".[1] Howland Wood (1914, 96–97, Fig. 26; 120, Fig. 126) illustrated the same two pieces, proposing for the "uncountermarked" holey dollar a possible "St. Kitts" attribution, while noting that "the small round plug impressed with a crude 2 has up to date remained a mystery, no ring or dollar from which it was removed has turned up to identify the piece." In 1917, the American Numismatic Society (ANS) collection received a then unattributed and unpublished 1792 countermarked holey dollar (see Table 3, 8R 1792). A similar 1778 holey dollar was sold by J. Schulman (1926, No. 356) as a "British West Indies" with an "uncertain countermark" but "extremely rare". These were the pieces of a West Indian puzzle: unattributed countermarked holey dollars; unassigned uncountermarked dollars; and small countermarked plugs with apparently no corresponding pierced dollars.

A Caribbean Triple Enigma

In this section, the past attributions and the inconsistencies and weaknesses of the pieces of the West Indies puzzle will be analyzed. Plate 1 illustrates nine coins in the three categories:

- Countermarked holed coins: 8 reales 1792 and 2 reales 1760 (Figs. 1–4)
- Uncountermarked holed coins: 8 reales 1804, écu 1784L (Figs. 5–6)
- Countermarked plugs: 2 (Figs. 7–8)

Some Past Attributions

The 1917 accession by the ANS of a countermarked 8R 1792 holey dollar of the first category came three years after the publication of Howland Wood's *The Coinage of the West Indies* (1914), an often-quoted work on

Plate 1

Pieces of a West Indian Puzzle

Countermarked holed coins:

Fig. 1: 8R 1792

Fig. 2: Reverse

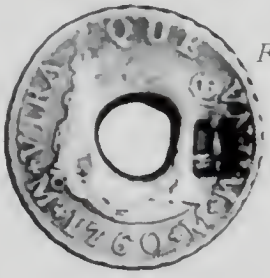


Fig. 3: 2R 1760

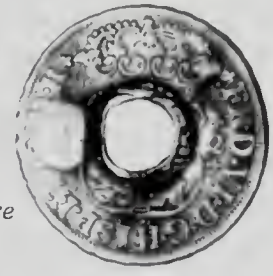


Fig. 4: Reverse

Uncountermarked holed coins:

Fig. 5: 8R 1804

Fig. 6: Ecu 1784L

Countermarked plugs:

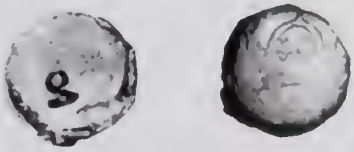


Fig. 7 and 8: Reverse "2" countermark on small Spanish-American plug

West Indian numismatics. This countermarked dollar remained catalogued as unassigned since Wood's article did not include anything similar. In 1926, a Jacques Schulman auction sold a very rare 8R 1778 with the same countermark. Schulman prudently listed the dollar as uncertain, although he attributed it to the British West Indies without further explanation. In the same auction (No. 357), Schulman auctioned a reverse "2" countermarked plug.

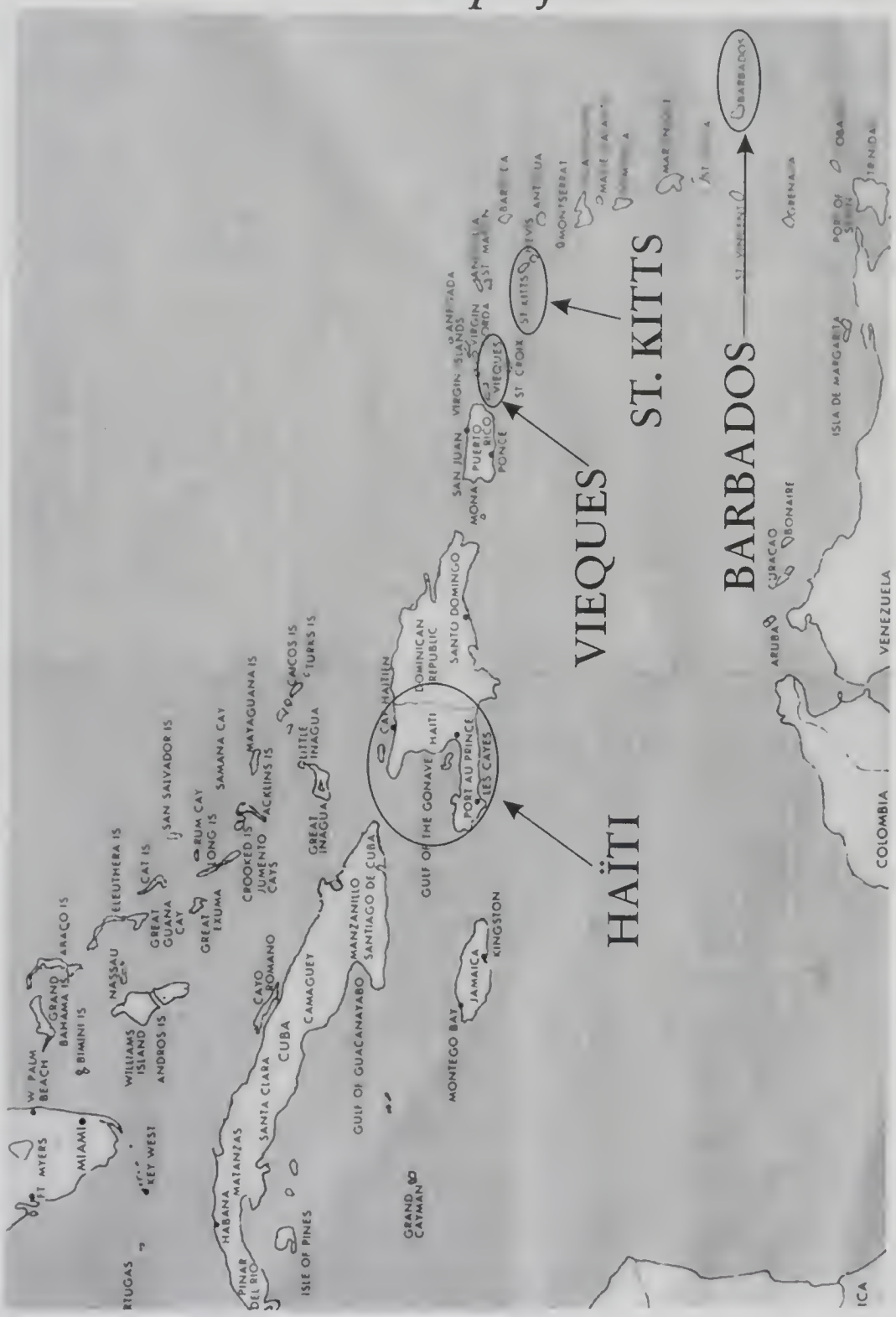
Catalogers of auction houses were prone to "describe" the countermark and "attribute" the host coin with West Indian material. Indeed, in the 1931 Augustus Thelusson sale (No. 495), Sotheby's auctioned the same coin, listing it as "Jamaica (?)" (with a question mark) and "describing" the countermark as a "pineapple". The next auction of a similar piece did not occur until 1955, some twenty-four years later, when Hans Schulman's sale of the O. K. Rumbel collection included (No. 128) a "badly worn or counterfeit" 8R piece of 1780 (or 1789), countermarked with what Schulman described as a "crab" and which he attributed to Vieques, also called "Crab Island" (Wood 1914, 97), making it *ipso facto* part of "US numismatics" (see Plate 2 for a map of the Caribbean).

This attribution was repeated by Howard D. Gibbs at the time of Hans Schulman's auction (1966) of his magnificently large collection of cut and counterstamped coins. Of course, the "US numismatics" description given to coins that were already extremely rare in their own right directly increased the interest of collectors. The "Vieques" and "crab" descriptors were repeated only once after this, by Jean de Mey in his 1989 work on counterstamped coins (No. 1011).

Parallel to the crab description, the "pineapple" was again used in 1958 by Humberto Burzio (I, 23–24 and III, 20), twenty-seven years after the Sotheby's auction of the Thelusson piece. An excellent numismatist, Burzio nonetheless allowed himself to speculate incautiously about the origin of the J. Schulman/Sotheby piece, which he attributed with "reserve" to Barbados, "speculating" that the coin had circulated there where it had been counterstamped with the island's "distinctive sign", a "pineapple product of the island". He based his attribution solely on a visual examination of the Schulman plate and on a comparison with the 1788 pineapple token (I, 24).

Plate 2

Map of the Caribbean



Pridmore (1965, 77, 81, Nos. 8, 9), in his major and irreplaceable work on the coinage of the British West Indies, also listed these countermarked coins as being from Barbados, with a pineapple countermark. Pridmore did not list Burzio in his bibliography, nor did he cite the J. Schulman (1926) and Sotheby (1931) auctions. It is thus not possible to know if these previous sources influenced his attribution of the coins to Barbados. Using the ANS 8R 1792 specimen and an unpublished 2R 1781 plugged specimen, Pridmore (1965, 81, Nos. 8 and 9), under the section title *Plugged Silver,* wrote:

> The plugged and stamped silver coins are associated with the cut silver segments [1704–39, 1740–99, 1799–1838]. The coins recorded are the Spanish-American dollar and quarter dollar, and after being plugged to restore their weight to the correct standard, they were stamped with the design of a pineapple. The use of this plugged form of token apparently falls to the period about 1791–1799, when the silver coins in circulation passed by weight. Some person, adopting the method then in common use to restore deficient gold coins to an official weight standard, applied it to deficient silver coins.
>
> This action appears to have been taken either by some plantation owner or a leading merchant, and the use of the design of the pineapple for the countermark suggests a possible connection with the minted copper tokens of 1788 (Pridmore 1965, 77).

He also stated:

> Attribution to Barbados is based on the design of the c/mk. (a pineapple) and to the fact that between 1791–1799, deficient and cut silver passed by weight. This resulted in the circulation of silver in bags with the weight and current value marked on the outside. To avoid the deceptions and trouble imposed by this system, some individual copied the common practice then in use for restoring light weight gold to the accepted standard and plugged silver coins in the same manner.
>
> The c/mk of a pineapple, although crude, was seemingly copied from the popular penny token of 1788. It is possible that the plugged and stamped silver coins were by the same issuer, viz. Sir Philipp Gibbs (Pridmore 1965, 81).

While Burzio attributed the pineapple countermark with reserve to Barbados, Pridmore was more assertive, although he had no more factual

information than Burzio. Pridmore, in short, conjectured that the coin was a form of token, restored privately by plugging and stamping circa 1791–99, and the countermark was a crude pineapple "seemingly copied" from the 1788 token.

Because both Burzio and Pridmore were serious numismatists and there were no other explanations, the Barbados pineapple theory remained in vogue until the author's presentation to the XIIth International Numismatic Congress in Berlin (Braun 1997). Indeed, since the Sotheby "Jamaica (?) pineapple" description in 1931 and the Burzio and Pridmore "Barbados pineapple" attributions in 1958 and 1965, other numismatists have simply repeated these assertions (the exceptions being, of course, H. Schulman and Jean de Mey with the "Vieques crab" hypothesis). In fact, Byrne (1975, No. 28) listed a counterfeit previously plugged 8R 1796 as Barbados with "a so-called pineapple", a "private mark" that he implicitly dated to before the 1788 token! De Clermont and Wheeler (1986, 74, Nos. 8, 9) continued the Pridmore tradition of the "Barbados pineapple" attribution, although they did away with the "private mark" theory. And, recently, Gregory Brunk (1989, 142, 147), although uneasy with the Barbados attribution and preferring a general West Indies and unattributed assignation, maintained the pineapple description for the coins, which appear to be "privately restored silver pieces" having seen "extensive circulation", and being "generally well worn."

Similarly, the second group of coins in the West Indies puzzle, uncountermarked holed pieces such as the 8R 1804 and the écu illustrated in Plate 1 (Figs. 5 and 6) have also had varied attributions. The 15 to 16 mm holed 8R 1798 specimen illustrated in Caldecott (1904, 294, Plate 14) was prudently listed as "unattributed West Indies", and the sale of his collection by Sotheby (1912, No. 483) maintained the unassigned attribution (Caldecott unfortunately did not note the very small sun-type countermark also present on this specimen of holey dollar, which was later attributed to Prince Edward Island). Howland Wood (1914, 97) illustrated the same piece and noting that it "may be the piece referred to in the records" gave it a possible St. Kitts attribution, failing, as did Caldecott, to note the small sun countermark on the obverse of the coin. The Sotheby's sale of the Augustus Thelusson collection (1931, No. 405) contained, in addition to the pineapple countermark, an uncountermarked holey dollar that the

catalogers, following Wood, listed as "St. Kitts (?)". By then it seemed that all types of uncountermarked holed pieces, irrespective of the size of the hole, had been oriented towards a St. Kitts attribution.

The Hans Schulman sale of the Howard D. Gibbs collection (1966, no. 1757F-G-H) consecrated the St. Kitts attribution, this time without the question mark. Indeed, the Gibbs sale contained three holey dollars without countermarks: two Spanish-American 8 reales, one with a "10 mm" hole (the photograph shows it to be 12 to 13 mm) and the other with a "15 mm" hole (no. 1757F and G); and a French écu with a "15 mm" hole (No. 1757 H).

Just before the Gibbs sale, Ray Byrne (1965, 8–9) noted that a holey dollar without any crenations or markings had been "arbitrarily assigned to St. Kitts (...) by early catalogers". Although correct in the use of the term arbitrary, his suggestion that this type of piece could be a forgery had no basis in fact and was pure speculation. Indeed, this style of thinking led him to an even more serious error. Robert Lacombe's *Histoire monétaire de Saint-Domingue et de la République d'Haïti jusqu'en 1874* (1958, 56n) proposed the hypothesis that holed pieces with round circular holes *might* be the Haïti pieces, simply on the basis of the type of holes of other holey dollars (heart, square, etc.). While Lacombe used a very elegant formulation ("on serait tenté de croire"), Byrne utilized his idea almost verbatim, changing the formulation of the conclusion as follows:

> Since the pieces at Martinique were pierced with the shape of a heart; those of Guadeloupe with a square hole; those of Tobago, octogonal; at St. Lucie, strips cut vertically, *it would seem logical* that the ones of Haïti would be of a circular hole. (Byrne 1965, 8; emphasis added.)

Byrne continued in this line of speculation, stating that the uncountermarked holey dollars of Dominica and Trinidad with round crenated holes were assigned to these islands by "error" when they were really from Haïti. To sustain this line of thinking, he exposed his incongruous "D for Domingo" theory, instead of D for Dominica. (Byrne, of course, conveniently forgot the existence of the "T for Trinidad" plug, it being impossible to relate the letter T to Haïti or Saint Domingue.) Of course, Byrne corrected these serious mistakes in his 1970 article on holey dollars, restoring the attribution of the above-mentioned pieces to Dominica and Trinidad. But

in the same article, he showed an uncountermarked 1809 8R with a 12 to 13 mm hole, listing it as "unassigned" (Byrne 1970, 341). It is evident, especially from Byrne's errors, that the attributions of the second group of uncountermarked holey dollars are confusing, speculative, and badly documented.

The third group of coins constituting the West Indian puzzle (Plate 1, Figs. 7 and 8) were first mentioned in a Lyman H. Low auction (1885, No. 591) in which a small crude plug from a Spanish-American coin countermarked with a reverse 2 was offered for sale as "unattributed West Indies". Caldecott (1904, Plate 16) illustrated such a piece and prudently listed it as "unattributed West Indies". Wood (1914, 120, Fig. 126) elegantly listed it as a "mystery". J. Schulman (1926, No. 357, 1930, No. 562) used a "British West Indies" attribution for the same type of plug but without further information. The Stack's sale of the John L. Roper Collection (1983, No. 584) listed as "anonymous" in the "copies and concoctions" section of cut and counterstamped coins a reverse 2 plug from a Spanish-American dollar. The Glendining/Baldwin auction of the Ford Collection (1989, No. 234) contained an "unattributed" plug with an incuse 2 countermark, whereas a Glendining 1990 auction listed a reverse 2 countermark in a Dominica lot (No. 40) in which it was described as being from an "uncertain location". Indeed, the only cataloger to have hazarded a guess was Howard Gibbs, who listed a 2 countermark as "St. Kitts" (Schulman 1966, No. 1757I), providing no analysis to support this guess but obviously implying a possible link between the plug and the holed uncountermarked dollars.

Guesses, speculations, conjecture... the pieces of this West Indian puzzle merit a thorough review, so inconsistent, fanciful, and weak have been past attributions. Gordon (1973–74) was correct in requesting "a large wastebasket" and a lot of "common sense" for the analysis and attribution of West Indian cut and counterstamped coins. He correctly noted that the West Indies has a "vast number of pieces—far more than the identified coins—which are either unattributed, or more usually, allocated to this or that locale by the whimsy and imagination of the cataloguer". Gordon was very wary of "highly fanciful Caribbean attributions" and noted the "wildest flights of fancy" to which certain numismatists were subject. The prudence of older numismatists who used the term unattributed rather than hazard a guess is to be contrasted with the deleterious influence of more recent and

less careful catalogers whose "attributions" are no more than mere speculation. One must avoid such romanticism and use research and common sense to arrive at more acceptable results.

The attributions listed above for the three groups need to be analyzed in detail because they are either incorrect or whimsical. For example, none of the attributions to Barbados or Vieques have any legal references as a basis. For St. Kitts, the 1801 act referred to does not mention the "piercing" of Spanish-American dollars. In almost all cases, there is either poor or no analysis of the physical and visual characteristics of the countermarks and weight standards of both the holey dollars and *moços* or plugs.

Barbados, Vieques, and St. Kitts Revisited

For the Barbados attribution of the so-called pineapple countermark, it is interesting to remember that as early as 1887 Scott's was commenting on the pineapple penny token of 1788 but was careful not to mention any counterstamped coinage. Atkins (1889, 313–314) listed these same tokens but not any cut and counterstamped pieces. Robert Chalmers (1893, 46–59) wrote an excellent section on circulating media in Barbados from 1625 to 1891, reminding future researchers of the following important fact (1893, 55n): "It may here be noted that, unlike Dominica, Trinidad, etc., Barbados never stamped its cut money with the island's initial or other device". Later researchers (Wood 1914; Greaves 1952, 11–13) also emphasized this extremely important point, while noting that no acts or laws authorized counterstamping. Chalmers (1893, 55) quotes from an 1816 pamphlet by the colonial agent in which he reports on coins in circulation, including "cut half-bits formed by the cutting of bits into halves"; this contemporary source does not mention any holed and counterstamped coins. An even earlier source cited by Greaves (1952, 12–13) states that, in 1807 "the Spanish dollar is the principal circulating medium" and that "counterfeit coin is here extremely rare". None of these sources cite the existence of counterstamped coins.

The Sotheby/Burzio/Pridmore pineapple attribution has therefore no legal or factual basis in Barbadian monetary history. The description of the countermark as a pineapple also has no basis, being in Pridmore's words "seemingly copied from the popular penny token of 1788". The popular-

ity of the pineapple penny token, the strong collector interest in British West Indies cut and counterstamped coinage, and Pridmore's generally very good numismatic research and scholarship have all contributed to maintaining the "Barbados pineapple" theory, although contemporaries always pointed out that no counterstamped holed pieces were ever authorized in Barbados.

The Vieques attributions of Hans Schulman (1955) and Howard Gibbs/Hans Schulman (1966) also have no legal or factual basis. Very little is known about the numismatics of Vieques other than speculative attributions to this island of a "rayed circle or star", and a V countermark reported by H. Wood (1914, 97–98). Gould and Higgie (1962) mention nothing about Vieques counterstamps, and Archilla-Diez (1990) does not list any nineteenth-century tokens for this dependency of Puerto Rico. The Hans Schulman auction of the O.K. Rumbel Collection (1955) allowed the cataloger to literally invent a crab attribution to Crab Island, conveniently transforming the piece into "US numismatics". The countermark bears no resemblance to that of a crab. Numismatists today rarely refer to the crab attribution; it is indeed dead for all intents and purposes, probably to the great chagrin of certain coin merchants.

It is numismatically important to return to the St. Kitts attributions made by past numismatists in order to reestablish the facts. Scott (1885, 62) committed the mistake of thinking that St. Kitts had no counterstamped coinage. The S and SK countermarks have been relatively well catalogued since the beginning of the century (Atkins 1889, 318; Wood 1914, 96; Pridmore 1965, 141–142). The St. Kitts enigma actually begins with a comment made by Chalmers (1893, 75) and continues with a later remark by Wood: "And at the same date [3 February 1801] as the Virgin Islands [Tortola], St. Kitts passed an Act for cutting and stamping silver and copper coins, the title of which is identical with that of the Virgin Islands Act. Unfortunately, the Record Office has preserved nothing but the title". Wood (1914, 97) illustrated a 15- to 16-mm holed 8R 1798, previously illustrated in Caldecott (1904, pl. 14), and initiated the St. Kitts controversy by speculating that it could "possibly" be "the piece referred to in the records" of St. Kitts' 1801 act. Not noting that the Caldecott specimen had a small sun-like countermark applied near the forehead of Charles'

bust on Spanish-American 8 reales (and later shown to be from Prince Edward Island, Canada), this speculation by Wood launched the search by future numismatists for uncounterstamped 15-mm holed dollars as being from St. Kitts. By the time of the Gibbs sale by Schulman in 1966, all uncountermarked, centrally pierced dollars, whether with 15- to 16-mm or 11- to 13-mm holes, were being listed as St. Kitts. The 15- to 16-mm holed specimens have since been attributed to Prince Edward Island, but numismatists have never really analyzed the St. Kitts dilemma.

Although Pridmore (1965, 139) correctly noted that there is no difficulty in identifying the S countermarks on cut half quarter and eight segments of the Spanish-American dollar, he overlooked a very important fact in Appendix 13 (p. 305): the St. Kitts (Saint Christopher) Assembly registered the 3 February 1801 Act of Tortola, Virgin Islands, on 9 February. This proves beyond a doubt that the St. Kitts and Tortola acts were one and the same, both in content and in title. In fact, Clause 1 (Pridmore 1965, 303) specifically states the act is valid for all the Leeward Islands and mandates the "stamping" of "round or cut pieces of Money such as have for some past been in circulation viz. Half Dollars, Quarter Dollars and Shillings, Pistreen Bitts, Half Bitts also the coin commonly called Black Dogs...". Clause 2 further provided that every coin was to be counterstamped "in such a manner as best to prevent the counterfeiting of the Public Marks".

Since no other acts or laws for St. Kitts are known, it is evident that both the 3 and 9 February Acts of Tortola and St. Kitts are identical and they mandated that the coins (a) were to be countermarked, (b) were not to be "pierced", just "stamped", and (c) were not to include dollars. Based on this act approved by the St. Kitts assembly, it is impossible for pierced, uncountermarked dollars, whether of 11- to 13-mm or 15- to 16-mm holes, to be attributed to St. Kitts. Therefore Wood's speculation can be refuted.

If the St. Kitts attribution is incorrect for this series; if the absurd Vieques crab conjecture for countermarked, holed coins is to be sent to Gordon's "waste basket"; and if there is no legal or factual basis for the Barbados pineapple, as romantic as it may have been to lovers of Barbados penny tokens and British West Indies cut and counterstamped coins, the question remains: To what country or island can the pieces of the West Indian puzzle illustrated in Plate 1 be attributed? When were they holed

and countermarked? Other than fanciful speculation, is there evidence of an unknown issue of another country?

The following sections will analyze the three groups constituting the puzzle within the context of a law passed by the Republic of Haïti on 27 June 1811 and show that they are indeed cut and counterstamped coins of Haïti and not of Barbados, Vieques, or St. Kitts. The Haitian mystery, existing for numismatists since 1811, and first publicly elucidated by the author at the Berlin International Numismatic Congress (Braun 1997), will be clarified, and the West Indian enigma, existing since Low's 1885 sale of a countermarked *moço,* will be solved.

The Haitian Mystery

The Haitian mystery has existed since June 1811, when a law was passed by the Haitian government authorizing the piercing and counterstamping of 100,000 gourdes (dollars) of 8, 4, and 2 reales as well as French écus and 5-franc pieces. As with most other Caribbean islands, no known official document has ever described these coins and their countermarks, and they have remained a numismatic mystery. The present section will analyze the law, study the circulation and demonetization of the coins, and provide data on their metrology.

In addition to their numismatic interest, the coins that were created by the June 1811 law are also of historical and monetary interest. The small plugs that were extracted from the host coins were called *monnaie d'Haïti,* or *les d'Haïtis* for short, by the Haitian people. The Haitian Senate report on the monetary situation of Haïti (1892, 39) unequivocally stated that the *d'Haïtis* have "achieved celebrity in our financial customs". President Alexandre Pétion, who first proposed the measure in his 22 June Message to the Senate (Linstant Pradine 1880–86, II, 102–103; Madiou 1988, V, 7n) was calling them an "abus" (injustice) only eight months after their issuance, such had been their counterfeiting. The Haitian Senate called them in 1812 a "public calamity", and one of Haïti's first historians, Beaubrun Ardouin, characterized them as a "financial expedient" ([1856] 1958, VII, 93). Mangonès (1943, 59; 1977, 25) likened the *d'Haïtis* to a "curious operation of pirates". Lepelletier de St. Rémy (1846, II, 194) noted that the piercing of the gourdes by Pétion was too simple not to elicit a response

from the counterfeiters. Perhaps Guy Joseph Bonnet, Pétion's *Secrétaire d'Etat* before the 1811 piercing, wrote the best short description of the impact of the d'Haïtis in Haitian history: "the gourdes were pierced; the *d'Haïtis* were produced; the ordeal was unfortunate" (1864, 223).

Creation of the d'Haïtis

The antecedents of the piercing of the gourdes can be traced to 1808, when Pétion's government, facing financial difficulties, artificially increased the exchange rate from 11 to 12 escalins (or bits) per Spanish-American gourde (or dollar) and authorized the minting of 1, 1½, and 2 escalins and the counterstamping of a ½-escalin coin (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, I, 442–444; Madiou 1987, IV, 112–113, 129; Ardouin [1856] 1958, VII, 36; St. Rémy [1854-57] 1956, V, 44–45). Article 9 of the law of 4 May 1808 stipulated that the coins were to bear *l'arbre de la Liberté,* a palm tree with a Phrygian bonnet. Given that the law was repealed in July 1808 because of widespread dissatisfaction with the inflation it had introduced, the coins were never struck or counterstamped.

During 1809 and 1810, severe balance-of-payment problems led to the ever increasing export of specie. A budget deficit complicated matters in 1811 and led to the government borrowing 50,000 gourdes in June (Ardouin [1856] 1958, VII, 93, 101). Further complications arose with the introduction in Haïti of counterfeit Spanish-American dollars, a punishable offense according to the *Arrêté* of 12 May 1811 (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 95; Bonnet 1864, 223). Perhaps aware of the piercing of gourdes in Guadeloupe by the British forces in May 1811, Pétion sent a message to the Haitian Senate in which he noted the "disappearance of the gourdes" and proposed the piercing of Spanish-American 8, 4, and 2 reales, as well as French écus and 5-franc pieces. President Pétion sent the Senate a specimen holey dollar and plug, or *morçeau* (*moço* in Creole), weighing respectively "6 gros 18 grains" and "54 grains", or 23.902 and 2.868 g, for a total weight of 26.770 g, approximately 98.9% of the official standard weight of 27.0642 g according to Burzio (1958), but 99.7% of the average assay weight of 26.982 g according to Kelly (1823, II, 331; and as reported in Chalmers (1893, 403), both well within acceptable weight tolerances. Pétion proposed that the *moço* (plug) circulate for 1½ escalins (or 13½ cents).

The law passed by the Haitian Senate comprised seven articles, of which the first two authorized the piercing "in the middle" of the five types of coins mentioned in the previous paragraph, to a maximum amount of 100,000 gourdes (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 102–106). They were to be pierced by an "emporte-pièce" (or punch), which Pétion had ordered manufactured in Haïti, according to his June message.[2] Article 3 fixed the value of the *moços* ("petites monnaies extraites") at 2 escalins per gourde (+18.18% of inflation in the exchange rate) instead of the 1½ escalins that Pétion had recommended, based on the weight of the plug. Table 1 shows the circulating values of the holed coins and plugs, in escalins, dollars, and *livres coloniales* (colonial pounds), or *argent de Saint-Domingue* (Saint-Domingue currency) as the money of account of Haïti was commonly called during the eighteenth century.

Article 3 of the law authorized two countermarks, one on each side, on both the holed coins and the plugs. One was to be a poinçon (or mark) "that the Government will designate", and the other was to be the "value" of the coin. Article 4 prudently stipulated that gold coins were to "retain" their value, circulating at 18 pierced gourdes for the Spanish-American doubloon (8 escudos) instead of 16 unholed gourdes, and at 9 pierced gourdes for the *portugaise* or joe instead of 8 gourdes, thus matching closely the inflation of the circulating value of the pierced gourde.

In Article 5, the government stated that the mint charge for piercing of gourdes was two thirds of the *moço,* or 1⅔ escalins, approximately 10.3% of the 13-escalin value of both the pierced dollar and the plug. This seigniorage compares favorably to that charged by the British authorities in the British Guiana December 1808 dollar piercing issue (13.3%, or 2 bitts per 15 bitt combined value of the dollar and the plug, cf. Pridmore 1965, 295), but is grossly exaggerated when compared to the 5.6% of the Dominica August 1813 issue (Pridmore 1965, 309–310) and to the extremely low 2% of the Trinidad issue of June 1811 (Pridmore 1965, 337).

Counterfeiters were to be "criminally pursued", according to article 6. Fines of 100 and 200 gourdes were to be levied, but no other penalties were mentioned. Article 7 recognized the new Haitian currency as legal tender and enjoined military authorities to keep a constant and close watch over the execution of the law.

Table 1. Circulating Values of the New Haitian Currency, 1811–1814

Host Coin	Holed Coins			Plugs (moços)			Combined Circulating Value			Inflation in Initial Value[b]
	Value in Escalins	Value in Dollars	Value in L.S.D.[a]	Value in Escalins	Value in Dollars	Value in L.S.D.	Value in Escalins	Value in Dollars	Value in L.S.D.	
French écu	12	1.09	9l.	2½	0.225	1l. 17s. 6d.	14½	1.315	10l. 17s. 6d	+20.83%
8 Reales	11	1.00	8l. 5s.	2	0.18	1l. 10s.	13	1.18	9l. 15s.[c]	+18.18%
5 Francs	10	0.91	7l. 10s	1½	0.135	1l. 2s. 6d.	11½	1.045	8l. 12s. 6d.	+15.00%
4 Reales	5½	0.50	4l. 2s. 6d.	1	0.09	15s.	6½	0.59	4l. 17s. 6d.	+18.18%
2 Reales	2¾	0.25	2l. 1s. 3d.	½	0.045	7s. 6d	3¼	0.295	2l. 8s. 9d.	+18.18%

a. *Livres, sols, deniers* of the French monetary system; known as *argent de la Colonie*, and *argent de Saint-Domingue*.

b. Calculated from the value in escalins.

c. Lacombe (1958, 54n) erroneously calculates the combined value of the holey dollar and plug at 10 livres 1 sol.

Sources: Laws of 4 May 1808 and 27 June 1811 (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, I, 442–444 and II, 104.

Metrology of the *d'Haïtis*

The weights used in Haïti at the time of the piercing were expressed as *poids de marc*, according to the following schedule (Bonnet 1810, 69; Bonneville 1806, xxix; Kelly 1823, II, 228):

1 grain							=	0.053115 g
72 grains	=	1 gros					=	3.824265 g
		8 gros	=	1 once			=	30.594115 g
				8 onces	=	1 marc	=	244.752923 g

Remembering the official weight of 27.0642 g (8 to the Spanish mark, Burzio 1958, II, 171), it is interesting to note that the 1765 English and 1801 French assays (Chalmers 1893, 402–403) provided average weights of 26.983 and 26.982 g respectively, slightly above the 416 grains (26.9 g) used by both Pridmore and Byrne, probably on the basis of the U.S. silver dollar, patterned after the 8 reales, and/or on Queen Anne's June 1704 Proclamation, listing the Spanish dollar at 17 dwt 12 grains (Pridmore 1965, 290–291). Bonnet (1810) gave the weight of the Spanish dollar as 7 gros 2 grains or 26.90 g (about 415.1 grains), slightly above the weight of Pétion's specimen (26.77 g) but below the 1801 French assays reported by Kelly and Chalmers. The weights for the 2 reales and the rarer 4 reales would have been in proportion, with probably a greater range for the former.

French écus of 6 francs (or livres tournois) were theoretically supposed to weigh 29.488 g, or $8\frac{3}{10}$ pieces to the marc (Bonnet 1810, 71; Bonneville 1806; Blanchet and Dieudonné, 1912–36, II, 363). By assay, they ranged on average from 28.77 g (for the 1774–1792 écus) to 29.16 g for the series from 1726 to 1793 (Chalmers 1893, 404). The French 5-franc "Hercules"-type pieces weighed 25.00 g.

Table 2 provides the weights of the holed coins, based on the above information on official and assayed weights and on the percentage of the Pétion specimen's weight with regard to the official weight. In all cases, the theoretical range of weights varies by no more than 1.1% below the official weight of the Spanish dollars and by less than 0.3% below the assayed weight of 26.982 g. In the case of the écus, using their presumed official and assayed weights, it is interesting to note that the theoretical range of weights varies by no more that 2.8%.

Table 2. Official, Assayed, and Theoretical Weights of Haiti's Holed Coins and Plugs

Official Host Coins	Holed Circulating Value	Host Coin Weights (Official and Assay)	Theoretical Weights	
			Holed Coins in Grams and % of Standard	Plugs
Ecu	12 escalins (+ 2½ escalins for the plug)	29.488 g (Bonnet)	25.863 g (100%)	3.625 g
		29.488 g (Blanchet)		
		29.160 g (Chalmers)	25.535 g (98.7%)	
		28.770 g (Chalmers)	25.145 g (97.2%)	
8 Reales	11 escalins (+ 2 escalins)	27.064 g (Burzio, official)	24.164 g (100%)	2.900 g
		26.982 g (Kelly, assay)	24.092 g (99.7%)	2.890 g
		26.900 g (Bonnet, assay)	24.018 g (99.4%)	2.882 g
		26.770 g (Pétion, assay)	23.902 g (98.9%)	2.868 g
5 Francs	10 escalins (+ 1½ escalins)	25.000 g (Bonnet)	22.825 g (100%)	2.175 g
		25.000 g (Blanchet)		
4 Reales	5½ escalins (+ 1 escalin)	13.532 g (official)	12.082 g (100%)	1.450 g
2 Reales	2¾ escalins (+ ½ escalin)	6.766 g (official)	6.041 g (100%)	0.725 g

Sources: Pétion (Message of 22 June 1811 in Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 102–105n); Kelly 1823, II, 331; Bonnet 1810, 69; Burzio 1958, I, II, 171; Chalmers 1893, 402–404; Blanchet 1912–36, II, 363).

Table 2 also calculates the presumed weights of the different plugs based on the weight of the 2-escalin plug, as given by Pétion (2.868 g, or about 10.71% of the weight of his 8R specimen) and as calculated using the official weight of the dollar (2.900 g). The weight of the 2-escalin plug has often been overestimated by non-French-speaking numismatists because of an error in Byrne's translation (1970, 327) of Robert Lacombe (1958, 53), in which Byrne states the weight as "1/5th by weight" (i.e., one fifth of the weight of the dollar, or about 5.4 g), whereas Lacombe had actually stated that the plug "by weight was worth 1 1/5 ["un et 1/5"] escalin", which would indicate a weight about 2.95 g (1.2/11 escalins, multiplied by 27.06 g).

Life and Death of the *d'Haïtis,* 1811–1814

In September, barely three months after the promulgation of the law authorizing the *d'Haïtis,* Pétion was already planning the striking of new coins, and he ordered minting equipment from the United States (Linstant Pradine 1860–66, II, 118n), such was the ease with which the *d'Haïtis* had been counterfeited. In his message of 14 April 1813 to the Senate, Pétion explains the rapidity with which the counterfeiters began their illegal operations: "Barely after the silver coins had been pierced and the *morçeaux* [plugs] declared *petite monnaie* [small change], forgers from all quarters busied themselves with the counterfeiting of this small change" (Linstant Pradine 1860–66, II, 162n). By December 1811, Port-au-Prince's gold and silversmiths had already counterfeited the coins (Ardouin [1856] 1958, VII, 118). Counterfeiting was so rampant (Madiou 1988, V, 146–147, 234–235) that Pétion officially proposed striking the new serpent coinage in a message to the Haitian Senate in February 1812 (Linstant Pradine 1860–66, II, 117–119n). By May, the Haitian authorities had decided to impose the death penalty for counterfeiting, which had become a "public calamity" in the words of the Senate. But the *Arrêté* (administrative order) of 11 May 1812 was never applied because, as Bonnet (1864, 256n1) explains, the forgers came from all social classes, citing the example of a general in the Haitian army. "Counterfeits openly inundated the market, without repression or legal proceedings", according to Bonnet (1864, 373). During the April–June 1812 siege of Port-au-Prince by Henri Christophe's troops from the northern Kingdom of Haïti, one could hear the distinct noise of

hammers on anvils, leading B. Ardouin ([1856] 1958, VII, 118) to say that counterfeiting was a *fabrique populaire,* existing in all walks of life. Ardouin mentions in detail the arrest of a counterfeiter by the Chief of Police. When brought to Pétion, the President scolded him, and sentenced him to a few days in prison, instead of applying the mandatory death penalty, arguing that most soldiers were in the counterfeiting business themselves. Indeed, most of the counterfeiters were soldiers (of all ranks) who by day were manufacturing false *d'Haïtis* near the ramparts, using the noise of the cannons as cover for their hammers, while by night mounting the guard for Pétion's government against a superior enemy force. Ardouin adds that "all of the old silverware went to the crucible, where it was disproportionately mixed with copper". Nau (1871, 2) stresses that both the plugs and the pierced coins were "generally considered as counterfeit coins", the latter circulating for their nominal value even when they were "underweight".

Of course, massive inflation—and quite possibly hyperinflation—ensued. Ardouin says that the "inevitable depreciation" of the *d'Haïtis* was such that a "large amount" was necessary even for small purchases. Pétion, in his Message of 14 April 1813, directly links the "excessive price" of goods and services to the extensive counterfeiting that "menaced" Haïti (Linstant Pradine 1860–66, II, 163n). The artificial increase in the exchange rate and the massive amount of counterfeiting in addition to further issues of *d'Haïtis* to cover military and other governmental expenditures produced outrageously high inflation rates. Lacombe (1958, 53n) correctly notes that the "unfortunate modification" by the Senate of Pétion's proposal for the circulation value of the *d'Haïti* plug (2 escalins or 18 cents, versus 1½ escalins, or 13½ cents) was at the basis of the counterfeiter's efforts but was also important as a price signal, given that overvalued silver could be used to purchase exportables or gold before a new exchange rate could stabilize the situation. From Table 1, it is possible to note that the circulation values of dollars and écus were raised by 18.18% and 20.83%, respectively, with the piercing operations of 1811, an immediate incentive for counterfeiters (who could also avoid paying 1⅔ escalins to the government for the piercing operations), but also an immediate increase in the money supply. But the circulating value of the plugs was really increased by 68%, given the fact that the plug weighed 10.71% of the dollar, thus giving it an intrinsic value of 10.7 cents, whereas the Senate gave it a value of 18 cents (+68%)

compared to the 13.5 cents (+26%) proposed by Pétion. The double seigniorage levied by the Haitian government on the plugs and the pierced dollars it placed in circulation ultimately caused it to pay dearly, as will be seen below.

What type of major increase really occurred in the money supply, such that Pétion could note the "excessive price" of goods? Mintage statistics vary but do exist. Pétion, in his 18 February 1812 message to the Senate, estimated the striking of the new serpent coinage at "about 50,000 gourdes" if the *d'Haïtis* were to be withdrawn (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 199n). Without any counterfeiting at all, this figure would imply the piercing of about 42,308 dollars (50,000 gourdes multiplied by 11 escalins, the circulating value of the dollar, and divided by 13 escalins, the value of the dollar and the plug), with a concomitant circulation of approximately 7,692 gourdes of plugs. Moreover, in the law of 8 May 1813 demonetizing the *d'Haïtis,* it was estimated that the printing of 120,000 gourdes of a new paper money was necessary to withdraw the *d'Haïtis* (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 162–166). Without any counterfeiting at all, this figure would imply the piercing of approximately 101,538 gourdes, with the creation of the balance (18,462 gourdes) as plugs. This figure is extremely close to the maximum mintage specified in the law of 27 June 1811 (100,000 gourdes).

Ardouin and Madiou, contemporary historians who had access to both written and oral sources, also commented on the mintage and counterfeiting of *d'Haïtis.* Ardouin ([1856] 1958, VII, 93) says that the "government pierced about 40,000 gourdes" creating about "7,000 gourdes" worth of *d'Haïti* plugs (which would imply a piercing of about 38,500 gourdes, i.e., 7,000 multiplied by 11 escalins, divided by 2 escalins). The figures of "40,000" and "7,000" gourdes are also given by Madiou (1988, V, 8) and repeated in the Haitian Senate's report on the monetary history of Haïti (1892, 40).

Ardouin ([1856] 1958, VII, 93) and Madiou (1988, V, 8) further state that upon demonetization 660,000 gourdes (3.63 million plugs) were found in circulation, implying that counterfeits amounted to 653,000 gourdes, if there had been only 7,000 gourdes of plugs as the official issue. This would mean that 99% of the plugs were counterfeits. Ardouin ([1856] 1958, VIII, 11) slightly contradicts this first figure, further saying

that the government had to issue 300,000 gourdes instead of 120,000 of paper money because "it received 600,000 gourdes of counterfeit money made by everybody", which were withdrawn at 50% of face value. Madiou (1988, V, 208), on the other hand, states that the demonetization brought to the government's coffers 600,000 gourdes instead of 120,000: "there was therefore 480,000 gourdes of counterfeit money". This more conservative estimate suggests an extremely high, but certainly more realistic, 4-to-1 counterfeit-to-genuine ratio, or 80%.[3] It also implied that the genuine issue of pierced dollars and plugs was 120,000 gourdes, bringing us back to the estimate of 101,538 pierced gourdes, and 18,462 gourdes of plugs made above. This figure is more in tune with both the amount mandated by the law (100,000 gourdes) and the dire budgetary straits of Pétion's government, which had incurred fiscal deficits of 61,301 and 27,100 gourdes in 1811 and 1812, respectively (Ardouin [1856] 1958, VII, 93n4, VIII, 9).

Compared to other West Indian piercings, Haïti's 1811 issue of 40,000 to 100,000 gourdes is certainly on the high side in absolute terms but fares better on a per capita basis, Haïti having a much higher population than most of the small British and French colonies of the Leeward and Windward Islands. Pridmore (1965) and Byrne (1970) variously report the piercings at a low of 4,000 to 5,000 for the September 1798 Dominica issue, to medium-sized issues of 8,000 to 10,000 for Guadeloupe (1811), St. Vincent (1811, 1814), and Dominica (1813), to a very high 25,000 for the Trinidad June 1811 issue.

The extensive counterfeiting represented a major increase in Haïti's already high money supply and contributed heavily to the outrageously high rate of inflation mentioned by all observers. Having decided for political reasons that it would not apply the death penalty, Pétion's government decided to demonetize the *d'Haïtis*. Although the decision was taken in February 1812 (only eight months after the piercings began), it would not be before June 1814 (three years after the creation of the *d'Haïtis*) that the demonetization would be completed. In May 1812, the minting machinery ordered from the United States arrived, and the Port-au-Prince Mint began to operate (Ardouin [1856] 1958, VIII, 10). Perhaps it was used for more precise mechanical piercings of dollars while at the same time striking the new serpent coinage. The law officially establishing the mint was not officially sanctioned before 8 November 1812, however (Linstant Pradine

1860–86, II, 144–148). In addition, Pétion, in his Message of 30 October, proposed the printing of Haïti's first paper money, in bills of 1, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, and 500 gourdes (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 146n). The mint continued to strike the new coins, preparing them for circulation, and on 8 May 1813 the government promulgated two laws. One issued 120,000 gourdes of *billets de caisse* in bills of 5, 50, 100, and 500 gourdes, guaranteed by state lands; the other authorized the circulation of new coins of 6, 12, and 25 centimes, bearing the national arms (a palm "Tree of Liberty" and military trophies) and a serpent biting its tail, "emblem of prudence" (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 162–166, 166–168). Articles 3 and 4 of the paper-money law authorized Pétion to establish the demonetization dates for both the pierced dollars and the plugs, while it fixed the exchange at par for genuine pieces and at 50% for counterfeit coins. Pétion, in his Message of 14 April 1813 (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 162–165n), noted the "considerable quantity of false" *d'Haïtis,* adding that those possessing these sums had made "extravagant profits" through counterfeiting, and that false coins represented a "majority" or the "most part" of those in circulation. Despite this, he proposed that the government "subsidize" (Braun 1970) the counterfeiters by withdrawing the false coins at 50% of their face value.

The demonetization process actually started on the day Pétion sent his message to the Senate. Indeed, a circular dated 14 April 1813 informed that the *d'Haïtis* (plugs) could not be used for the payment of customs duties (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 158–159) and that the government would only accept payment in "holed and non-holed gourdes and gourdins [2 reales]", in 5 and 6 franc (écus) coins, as well as in gold. The circular clearly stated: "Consequently, and on no account, shall [customs officials] receive counterfeit coins any more". On 27 April this measure was extended to all taxes, not simply to customs revenues. Twenty-two months after the creation of the *d'Haïtis,* the demonetization of the often officially sanctioned counterfeits had begun.

The new paper money (issued in very high denominations probably because merchants held most of the *d'Haïtis*) and the serpent coins were used for withdrawals of both the holey dollars and plugs during the period May–September 1813. An *Arrêté* (administrative order) of 20 September 1813 informed the public that the circulation of pierced "gourdes, gourdins and other coins" was suspended and requested that they be brought

to the public treasury to be exchanged against the new national currency (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 207–208). A further seven months would elapse before a new notice of the president on 5 April 1814 informed the public that only eight days were left to exchange the plugs still in circulation (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 253–254). This notice mentioned that the area of circulation of the *monnaie d'Haïti* reached as far north as Mirebalais and Grands-Bois, west towards Petit-Trou de Nippes, and southeast around Jacmel, with the majority of the circulation probably occurring in Port-au-Prince and the adjacent Plaine du Cul-de Sac area. Both the law of 7 November 1812 and B. Ardouin ([1856] 1958, VII, 93n4) mention that they did not circulate in the more southern Cayes region. Finally, on 25 June 1814, Pétion published a final notice giving the Haitians four days to exchange the "pierced silver coins" in their possession and further stipulating that beyond this deadline, the Public Treasury would only accept them "by weight" and as "old silverware" (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 263–264).

Thus ended the ignominious and extremely interesting monetary life of what are undoubtedly Haïti's most infamous coins.

An Approach to the Haitian Mystery

Haitian holey dollars and plugs existed, they circulated widely, they brought about Haïti's first severe bout of inflation, they were extensively counterfeited, and they were demonetized and melted in order to strike the new "serpent" coins.

But what did they look like? What countermarks were applied to the holey dollars and plugs, as stipulated in the law? Were all the holey dollars actually countermarked? Which "unattributed West Indies" pieces are actually *d'Haïtis?* Which previously "attributed" pieces are really from Haïti and not from another Caribbean island?

The above facts and questions briefly summarize the "Haitian mystery". They constitute the basis of the author's research on the subject since 1967, when a first reading of the 1811 law raised questions about the *d'Haïtis.* Printed primary and secondary sources were extensively used during the preliminary research (Braun 1970) to establish the facts. Correspondence with numismatists and collectors such as Kurt Fischer and Ray Byrne during the 1970s deepened the author's interest in this mystery.

In the 1980–81 period, preliminary hypotheses had been developed and an examination of the actual coins and of printed and archival sources was begun. A new analysis of past attributions was completed, and it was evident that the three groups of coins forming the larger West Indian puzzle were not from Barbados, Vieques, or St. Kitts. The metrology of the Haitian pieces had been established, and it was therefore possible to search for pieces of comparable weights and sizes. Visual analysis of photographic evidence of countermarks was undertaken to confirm some of the hypotheses previously developed between 1967 and 1980. The hypotheses and methodological alternatives can be summarized as follows:

1. A persistent thought accompanied the researching of this numismatic mystery: the national symbol of Haïti is a palm tree; therefore, look for a countermark that resembles a palm tree! This line of thinking was reinforced by the law of 4 May 1808 that specifically mandated the use of a *palmiste* on the small 1, 1½, and 2 escalins coins that were to have been Pétion's first coinage, but were never struck. What Caribbean countermarks resembled a palm tree and were found on coins matching the stipulations of the 1811 law (denominations, weights)? This was a crucial question. Indeed, with a thorough analysis of West Indian coinage laws, it was important to concentrate on the countermarks wrongly, or weakly, attributed to islands such as Barbados, Vieques, St. Kitts, and to reanalyze them in order to conclude whether they were from an island other than Haïti. Proceeding by elimination, the road could (and would) lead to Haïti.
2. The plug countermarked with a 2 or a reverse 2 (Plate 1, Figs. 7 and 8) bore a numerical value that corresponded to the 2 escalins countermarked *moço* authorized by the June 1811 law. What were its physical characteristics (host coin, weight, diameter), and what matching holey dollars could be found? Furthermore, and as important, did the characteristics of the plug coincide with those of Pétion's specimen sent to the Haitian Senate?
3. If uncountermarked holey dollars matching the metrology of the plug were found in addition to countermarked dollars, could there actually have been two issues of Haitian holey dollars? Could this have been linked to the severe counterfeiting described in both primary and secondary sources?

Research along those lines continued in the 1980s, and some preliminary conclusions had been communicated to numismatists such as Kurt Fischer, Edward Roehrs, and Isaac Rudman. For example, the 2 plug had been identified for Roehrs and Rudman, allowing them to look for other specimens, using their extensive contacts. Moreover, the smaller (12 to 13 mm) holed, uncountermarked dollars attributed to St. Kitts answered in all aspects the questions raised in point 2 above. After having communicated this to Fischer, Roehrs, and Rudman, several examples were found in their collections and were linked to the specimen sold in the Ray Byrne collection (J. Peters 1975, No. 1216), about which the author had, in a personal communication, supplied information to Byrne indicating the reasons for a Haïti attribution rather than St. Kitts. Obviously, the author informed Byrne that the countermarked "C and anchor" cob coins authorized by a 1781 ordinance of Cap-Français in Saint-Domingue could not be the plugs for a bust-type dollar, and therefore the conclusions in his 1970 article were wrong (this point was raised in Braun [1970], a copy of which was sent to Byrne). The discovery in Haïti of various pierced coins and a fewer number of plugs around Port-au-Prince and Anse-à-Veau, two areas that had been officially cited in the 1814 notice of demonetization, reinforced the conclusion that these coins were indeed the *d'Haïtis*.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, research on the so-called Barbados pineapple countermark, as well as visual analyses of the countermark, had led the author to believe that it was a palm tree after all. Communicating this to Caribbean collectors proved to be instrumental. Upon being informed by the author of this preliminary conclusion, Edward Roehrs, fortunately being in the horticultural business in Arecibo, Puerto Rico, searched for and found a photograph of a palm tree resembling the author's visual analysis of the countermark, and a new vein of research was opened. Indeed, Roehrs sent to the author, in December 1991, a copy of the cover of *Principes* (1964) magazine, showing a photograph of the Hispaniola wine palm. Using the curatorial knowledge at Fairchild Tropical Garden, and after doing research on this singular palm species, it was clear from multiple sources that the so-called wine palm was endemic to Hispaniola, reinforcing the author's belief that the "Barbados pineapple" (or the "Vieques crab", absurd as it was) was really the "Haïti palm tree".

Of Countermarks and Botany: The First Enigma

Putting romantic conjecture and fanciful speculations aside, botany rapidly came to the rescue in that an endemic Haitian palm tree had been (re)discovered, at least for numismatic purposes. This section will deal with the first piece of the West Indian puzzle.

Pineapple, Crab, or Palm Tree?

Plate 3 shows the countermark enlarged various times and compares it to an equally enlarged pineapple from the Barbados penny token of 1788. It is evident that the countermark bears absolutely no resemblance to a pineapple. A comparison with the Hispaniola wine palm (*Pseudophoenix vinifera*) shows an absolute resemblance with the countermark (Plates 4–8). Indeed, the match is striking! The plates show the *P. vinifera* in different stages of maturity, but the bulging, ventricose characteristic of this unique palm cannot be mistaken when compared to the countermark. Plate 8 is taken from one of the very first botanical trips to Haïti, by Plumier in the late seventeenth century, and shows a rather mature tree, although one that is comparable to the tree in the countermark as are the younger trees exhibited in Plates 4 and 5. Moreover, the engraver's transition to the coat of arms on Haïti's coinage between 1813 and 1818, as shown in Plate 9, is evidently linked to this type of palm tree.

The Director of Curators at Fairchild Tropical Garden (Miami) readily identified the countermark as that of a wine palm and not of a pineapple or a crab (Charles Hubuch, personal communication, April 1996). To reinforce his opinion, he used the letterhead of the South Florida Chapter of the International Palm Society, which shows various graphic representations of palm trees dating back to 3300 BC. These look less like actual palms than the countermark itself. The fact that on one of the 8R specimens the branches are slightly flat, or horizontal, does not in any way detract from the conclusion that the countermark is that of a tree. Similarly, the crab theory can also be laid to rest, since the countermark shows no common characteristics with any type of West Indian (or other) crustacean. The ventricose trunk on the countermark is, in short, a palm tree, and, more specifically, *Pseudophoenix vinifera.*

Plate 3

Definitely a Palm Tree... and not a Pineapple!

Fig. 1: 8R 1790 Lima (Braun)

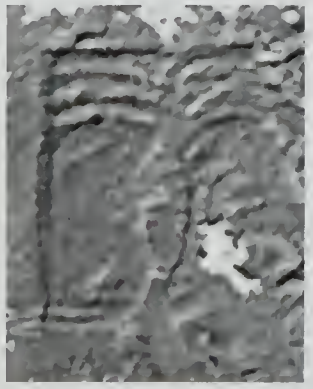


Fig. 2: 2R 1788 (Braun)

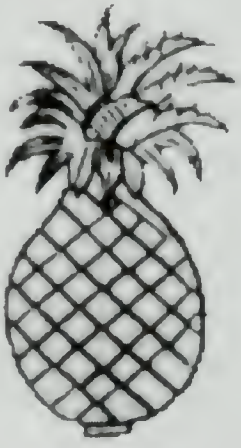


Fig. 3: Pineapple on the 1788 Barbados penny token

Fig. 4: 8R 1778 (ANS)

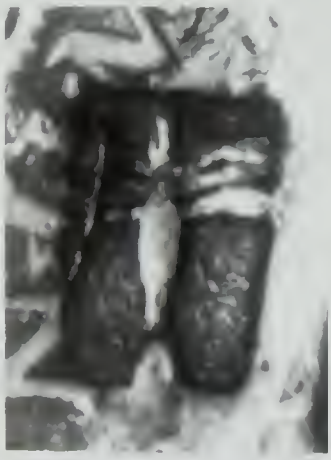


Fig. 5: 2R 1760 (ANS)

Fig. 6: 8R 1790 Potosi (Braun)

Plate 4

Hispaniola Wine Palm (Pseudophoenix vinifera)

(McCurrach 1965,186)

Plate 5

Hispaniola Wine Palm (Pseudophoenix vinifera)

(Principes 1964)

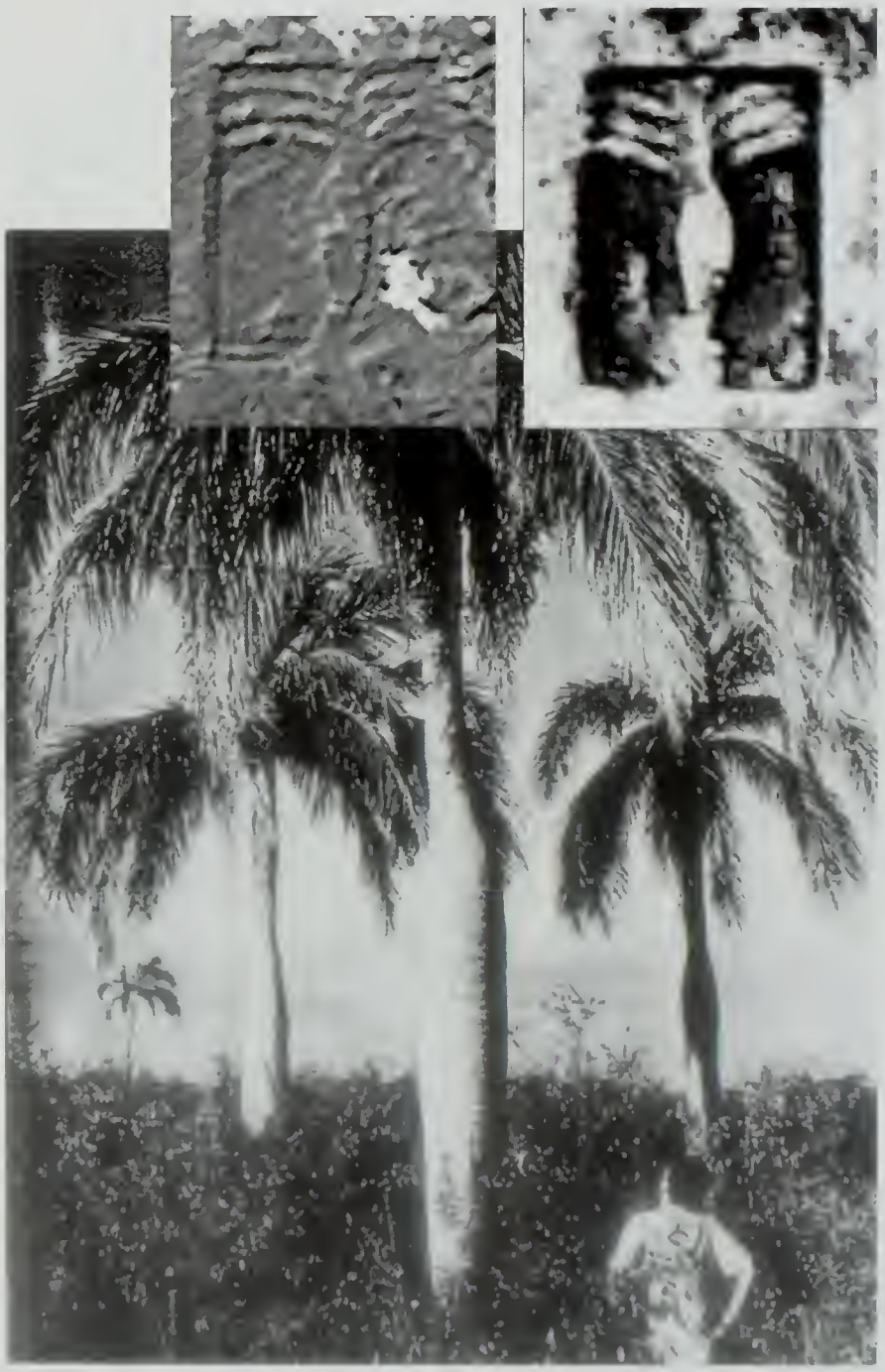
Plate 6

Hispaniola Wine Palm (Pseudophoenix vinifera)

(Bailey 1939, fig. 178)

Plate 7

Hispaniola Wine Palm (Pseudophoenix vinifera)



(Henderson et al 1990)

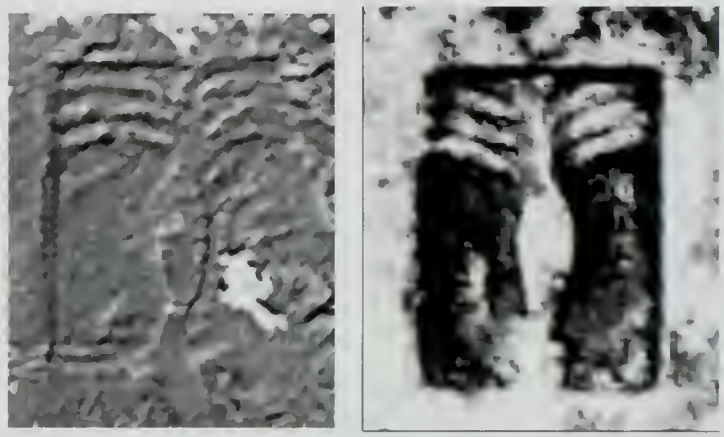
Plate 8

Hispaniola Wine Palm (Pseudophoenix vinifera)

(Plumier 1689-1691, in Bailey 1939, fig. 177 and Read 1968, fig. 13A)

Plate 9

The Palm Tree Countermark Compared to the Haitian Coat of Arms after 1813



(12 centimes, ANS)

Oexmelin ([1678] 1930), the buccaneer of Tortuga Island fame, first mentioned the use of the bottled-trunked or ventricose wine palm to ferment an alcoholic beverage for the *boucaniers* and *flibustiers* of Saint-Domingue. Ducoeurjolly (1802, I, 91) says that the "palmiste à vin", or wine palm, is one of the five types of palm trees found in Saint-Domingue. The wine palm was indeed endemic to Haïti and the island of Hispaniola (Read 1968, 170; Read 1969, 77; Henderson et al. 1990, 139; Henderson 1995, 73). It was first recorded as *Palmae dactiliferae et viniferae* by the French botanist Charles Plumier, who visited Haïti in 1689–91 and 1696–97 (Small 1922, 34–37) and observed the buccaneers' methods of extracting a fermented liquid from the bulging part of the trunk of the wine palmetto (McCurach 1965, 186; Uhl and Dransfield 1987, 292). Plumier in his manuscript says: "This beverage rivals the whey of milk, not only in its flavor but also in its whiteness when it is first obtained; one has to beware of it lest more than proper be drunk, for as I myself have learned from many, if more than sufficient is taken, it produces drowsy effects" (Small 1922, 36–37).

The genus *Pseudophoenix* was proposed in 1886 (Small 1922, 38) for a similar palm. The species name *Pseudophoenix vinifera* was first proposed in 1912 (Read 1968, 170; Bailey 1939, 278), the wine palm species having gone under various names since Plumier's account (Bailey 1939, 282; Burret 1929, 20):

- *Raphia vinifera* (Descourtilz [1821] in 1833, I, 157–160, Fig. 33)
- *Euterpe (?) vinifera* (Martiers 1845)
- *Gaussia vinifera* (Wendl 1878)
- *Aeria vinifera* (Cook 1923)

The wine palm grows to thirty feet or more in height. In Haïti today, it is often referred to as *katié* (Barker and Dardeau 1930, 40; Henderson et al. 1990, 139). McCurach notes that "young trees bulged in various ways" while "mature trees [are] narrowest at base, widest near top, and then constricting rather suddenly to meet the crownshaft". He also notes that they "grow so slowly that nurserymen generally refuse to stock them", explaining perhaps why they are so rare today outside of Haïti. Read (1968, 195) notes that the palm is very common in the Port-au-Prince area, precisely where Pétion's government held sway in 1811. A river and a rural section of the Léogane area (southwest of Port-au-Prince) are still called "Palmiste à vin"

(wine palm), more than 300 years after Léogane served as the buccaneers' capital (Rouzier [1890] 1927, 345; Chavenet 1996, 110). It is also the name of an area in the Baie de Henne zone, in Haïti's northwest (Rouzier [1890] 1927, 345).

The Haïti Palm Countermark Series

Until today, only fifteen palm countermarks have been recorded, making them one of the rarest in the West Indian series and of holey dollars in general.[4] They are even rarer for collectors, since five are in the ANS coin collection, leaving only ten for non-institutional collections, eight of which are in the Roehrs, Rudman, Lissade, and Braun collections. Others will undoubtedly surface in the future, but the rarity of the series will not fundamentally change.

An analysis of their physical and visual characteristics will facilitate the discussion of this singular and important series. Plates 10 and 11 exhibit photographs of the pierced and countermarked gourdes (8R) and gourdins (2R), which constitute the great majority of the coins in existence. Tables 3 and 4 provide a listing of these coins, their weight and hole sizes, as well as comments on their provenance and status as genuine or false hosts. The following comments can be made.

Palm countermark. The great majority of the specimens bear a close visual similarity to the wine palm, with six having a very bulbous or ventricose trunk (four 8R, two 2R) and four having a medium-size trunk (two 8R, two 2R). Two others bear an acceptable likeness of a palm tree, one being a rather crude counterfeit (1796 8R), the other being a genuine but severely clipped coin (8R 1790) with a thin or straight tree. The two that are least similar to a palm tree (1779 8R, 1789 2R) are both counterfeits with very crude forged countermarks.

Denominations. The known coins correspond to four of the five types authorized by the law. No 5 francs have yet been found with the countermark. It is interesting to note that very often in the official notices reference is made only to "les gourdes ou gourdins percés", and these types do represent the great majority of the recorded pieces (eight 8R, five 2R). A 1740 écu and an 1808/7 4 reales (Santiago) are the only recorded specimens in their respective categories. The former is a contemporary counterfeit (24.95 g;

Plate 10

Haiti Palm Tree Countermark on Spanish-American 8 Reales

Fig.1: 8R 1789 (ANS)

Fig. 2: Reverse (previously plugged)

Fig.3: 8R 1792 (ANS)

Fig. 4: 8R 1778 (ANS)

Fig. 5: 8R 1790 Lima (Braun)

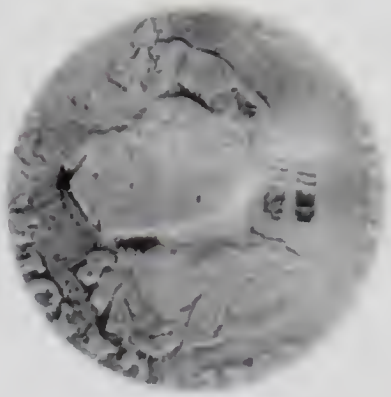


Fig. 6: 8R 1790 Potosi (Braun)

Plate 11

Haiti Palm Tree Countermark on Spanish-American 2 Reales

Fig. 1: Upside-down countermark on 2R 1760 (ANS)

Fig. 2: Reverse

Fig.3: 2R 1781 (Roehrs)

Fig. 4: Reverse

Fig.5: Spanish 2R 1788 (Braun)

Fig. 6: Contemporary, upside-down fake countermark on counterfeit 2R 1784 (ANS)

(Photographs: 1.5X)

Table 3. Eight Known Haiti Palm Tree c/s on 8 Reales

Date/Assayer/Mint Observations	Host Counterfeit	Previously Plugged	Diameter of Hole	Weight (% of Standard)
A. Holed and Counterstamped				
1. 8R 1778 FF Mexico ANS Collection (ex-Norweb); Schulman 1926 No. 356; Sotheby 1931, No. 405 (Thelusson); Burzio 1958, III, 20 *Note:* Looks sea-worn; could be cast counterfeit (yellowish tinge)	Probably	Yes	12–13 mm (11-mm small hole)	22.246 g (92.1%)
2. 8R, 1779 FF Mexico ANS Collection (ex-Norweb 1969 donation) *Note:* Countermark is very crude (probably counterfeit)	Probably	Yes (?)	12–13 mm (11-mm exit hole)	22.956 g (95.0%)
3. 8R 1780 (or 1789) (?) Mexico Roehrs Collection (ex-Schulman 1955; Gibbs 1966, No. 1942; Pridmore 1981, No. 165 *Note:* Schulman: "badly worn or counterfeit" (1955); Pridmore: "C.1791-1799", "water-worn"	Yes	Yes	11.6 mm	19.974 g (82.7%)
4. 8R 1790 IJ Lima Braun Collection (ex-private collection)	No	No (?)	11.62 mm	24.17 g (100%)
5. 8R 1792 FM Mexico ANS Collection (1917 accession); photo in Pridmore 1965, 81 (No. 8) *Note:* Previously plugged	Yes	Yes	12–13 mm (11-mm exit hole)	22.359 g (92.5%)
6. 8R 1796 FM Mexico Roehrs Collection (ex-Byrne 1975, No. 28; Gibbs 1966, No. 1943)	Yes	Yes	~10 mm	21.523 g (89.1%)
			Average #1–6	22.205 g (91.9%)
B. Holed, Counterstamped, and Later Plugged				
7. 8R 1791DA Santiago Lissade Collection (ex-Carlos Jara; ex-Brazilian collection; ex-K. Eckhardt) *Note:* Cast counterfeit	Yes	N/A	N/A	19.401 g (71.7% of official coin weight)
8. 8R 1790PR Potosi Braun Collection (ex-Argentine collector; ex-Fischer [?]) *Note:* Edge heavily clipped; host coin is genuine	No	N/A	N/A	25.1 g (92.7% of official coin weight)

Source: ANS; private collections

Table 4. Five Known Haiti Palm Tree c/s on 2 Reales

Date/Assayer/Mint Observations	Host Counterfeit	Previously Plugged	Diameter of Hole	Weight (% of Standard)
A. Holed and Counterstamped				
A.1 Pillar Type				
1. 2R 1760 M Mexico ANS Collection (ex-Norweb; ex-Gibbs 1966, No. 1944)	No	Yes (?)	7 mm	5.834 g (96.6%)
A.2 Bust Type				
2. 2R 1883 KR Potosi Rudman Collection (ex-Baldwin's 1998, No. 1)	No	Yes	N/A	5.88 g (97.3%)
3. 2R 1784 Mexico FF ANS Collection (1923 accession) Note: Counterfeit; previously plugged	Yes	Yes	7 mm	6.113 g (101.2%)
A.3 Spanish Pistareen				
4. 2R 1788 Sevilla Braun Collection (ex-private collection)	No	No	6.05 mm	5.34 g (88.4%)
			Average #1–4	5.792 g (95.9%)
B. Holed, counterstamped and later plugged				
5. 2R 1781 FP Mexico Roehrs Collection (ex K. Eckhardt Collection; ex-Pridmore 1981: No. 166)	No	N/A	Approx. 7 mm	6.74 g (99.6% of normal coin weight)

Source: ANS; private collections

silver-plated copper) with a very well made countermark, whereas the latter is genuine. (Unfortunately, only poor photographs of the two coins were available at the time of publication). All of the coins are of the correct dates (pre-1811–13).

Weight. The two 8R specimens (Table 3, Nos. 7–8) that are countermarked and plugged are both below the weight standard of an 8R coin: one is an 8R 1791 cast counterfeit weighing 19.401 g (71.7% of standard), and the other is one of two genuine specimens in the population, weighing only 25.1 g (92.7% of standard) because it has been severely clipped. At least four (perhaps five) of the other six 8R are previously plugged.

The six unplugged 8R (Table 3, No. 1–6) weigh on average 22.205 g (91.9% of the holed standard of 24.164 g [cf. Table 2]), with a range of 19.974 g (82.7%) to 24.1 g (100%), the latter (8R 1790) being the only positively genuine specimen of the lot. Four of the remaining five coins have been identified as counterfeits. The fifth specimen (8R 1778) is probably a very worn cast counterfeit.

The lone, recorded counterfeit écu weighs 24.95 g, about 96.5% of standard. Data are presently unavailable for the 1808/7 4R. The situation of the 2R specimens is very different, with four specimens out of five being genuine (the lone contemporary forgery is the 2R 1784 in the ANS collection). With an average weight of 5.792 g, they adhere very closely to the holed weight standard furnished in Table 2: 95.9%. Two of the receipts of the Port-au-Prince Mint Director, Piny, provide a rather precise indication of the average weights of the pierced gourdes. The receipts of 4 August and 26 September 1814 (K. Fischer Collection) are for "2,000 gourdes percées", each lot weighing an average of 22.55 g (93.3% of standard) and 20.54 g (85.0%), the latter probably including a higher proportion of the counterfeits since it accompanied a delivery of "altered" plugs ("monnaie d'Haïti altérée"). By comparison, five of the six holed (and previously plugged) specimens that are counterfeits (four positive, one probable) weigh on average 21.81 g (90.3% of standard), a figure almost identical to the 21.55 g average of the two lots mentioned in the mint director's receipts.

Location and Size of Hole. All of the specimens are pierced "in the middle", as mandated by the 1811 law. Most of the holes are 12 to 13 mm., that of the 8R 1790 Lima genuine specimen being 11.62 mm. For the 2 reales, the holes on the previously plugged specimens are about 7 mm, and the holes of the Spanish pistareen (1788) are 6.05 mm. The sizes of the holes of the 8R specimens correlate closely to the diameter of the plugs found in Haïti, as will be seen in a subsequent section. Data for the écu and the 4 reales are

presently unavailable, but the location and the sizes of the hole correspond to those of the uncountermarked series analyzed below.

Issues and Areas for Further Research

In the absence of a yet-to-be discovered "official" description of the counterstamp, other factual sources have been utilized to reattribute the palm countermark to Haïti. Botany and numismatics have combined forces, as it were, to provide a sound basis for attribution, a basis devoid of speculation and conjecture, romanticism and fancy. Indeed, the visual similarity of the countermark with the Haïti wine palm is simply outstanding. But, more importantly, the weight of the non-counterfeit specimens, the correlation of the weight of the counterfeit specimens with mint data upon demonetization, the correspondence between the law and the pierced coins (denominations, dates, piercing), the size of the hole relative to plugs found in Haïti, and the high number of counterfeits (a distinctive feature of this issue) strongly support this attribution. Needless to say, no comparative factual basis has been developed for any other attribution, especially not for the Barbados or Vieques ones. There are, nevertheless, areas for further research, which can be summarized as follows:

Period of Counterstamping. Was the palm tree countermark applied when the June 1811 law was promulgated or in 1813–14 when the coins were demonetized? This question is important because of the uncountermarked holey dollars found in and also attributed to Haïti (next section). Given their rarity (both in relative and absolute terms) and the high proportion of counterfeits, it would seem that the palm countermark was first applied in 1811, as mandated by the law, and at the same time as the plugs.

Number of Countermarks. The law mandates two stamps, a "punch" (*poinçon*) and the "value". If the "punch" (i.e., the palm stamp) is known on the holed pieces, and the "value" is known on the plugs, no recorded coin bears both stamps, one on each side, as stipulated in the law. Various reasons can be put forward for further analysis:

1. Perhaps a 12 and an 11 were not counterstamped on the écu and on the 8R specimens because a 5½ and 2¾ (escalin) countermark would have been extremely awkward (and therefore undesirable) on the pierced 4 and 2 reales.

2. In the same vein, perhaps only the 2- and 1-escalin plugs were countermarked with a 2 and a 1 because 2½, 1½, and ½ would have been either awkward or impossible on the plugs from the écus, 5 francs, and 2 reales, respectively.
3. Morever, given the size of the rectangular punch used for the palm tree countermark, it would have been impossible to countermark the ½-escalin plug and very inconvenient to stamp the 1- and the 2-escalin plugs.
4. Perhaps it was deemed unproductive to stamp each side of both the host coin and the plug, which would have entailed five operations compared to three with the piercing and one counterstamp each on the host and the plug.

Plugging. Why are most of the 8R coins plugged or previously plugged? When were they plugged: during demonetization (1813–14) or after demonetization (post-1814)? By whom were they plugged? If it was to "restore deficient silver coins to their weight standard" (Pridmore 1965, 77, 81), it certainly had to have been by private economic agents (e.g., goldsmiths, counterfeiters, merchants), since the Haitian government had already decreed their withdrawal and melting. And in terms of timing it certainly would have been after their demonetization, especially if they were deficient because they were counterfeits. A logical explanation would be that the plugging was an *ex post facto* (i.e., post-demonetization) operation of counterfeiters or of individuals trying to profit by fooling the illiterate public with false coins "brought up to weight" and passed as "good dollars" some time after their withdrawal from circulation. It could have happened in 1814–15; but it could also have happened in 1873, when one of Haïti's first collectors, J. J. Audain, placed an advertisement to purchase "pierced coins and stuffed doubloons that do not ring" (*Le Peuple,* 27 March 1873 [No. 20]).[5]

High Incidence of Different Countermarks. This is perfectly in line with the high proportion of counterfeits. One must keep in mind Bonnet's comment about the *d'Haïtis* (1864, 256n1): "The different [counterfeit] dies were recognizable in the market place. The [women] retailers would say: 'This one is a Diobelle, it's good; this one is a Denis, it's not worth anything'. They would accept certain coins and refuse others, until one fine day,

they formally declared that they would no longer accept [any of] these coins".

Coins not "Officially" Found in Haïti. Some collectors may have misgivings about the fact that no countermarked coins have been "officially" traced to Haïti, contrary to the uncountermarked pieces that have been found in Haïti and documented as such. It is important to note in response that some of these coins could have been "found" in Haïti but never registered as such. Indeed, the 1790 8 reales PR (Potosí) in the Braun collection could have been purchased in Haïti, as the father of the Argentinian collector who previously owned it had visited Haïti and even met Kurt Fischer, from whom he had obtained a list of Haitian collectors (personal communication, Guerdy Lissade and Carlos Jara, October 1998). Moreover, the author and various other Haitian numismatists have found in Haïti cut and counterstamped coins of other nations (e.g., Puerto Rican fleur-de-lis countermarks, Prince Edward Island holey dollars) and their provenance from Haïti certainly has no bearing on their country of origin. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the earliest recorded provenance is a 1917 ANS accession, 106 years after the piercing. Most of the other coins were bought and sold intermittently during the 1926–66 period by dealers not necessarily interested in the academic side of numismatics and therefore not inclined to note their provenance. Indeed, given their great rarity (fifteen known specimens today; but in the 1926–66 period, only a few auctions existed as references), it was not surprising that the dealers oriented the public towards areas of greater collector interest (e.g., H. Schulman/H. Gibbs with their "US numismatics" label for Vieques). Since Barbados and Vieques are definitely more marketable in terms of price, it is not surprising that the pieces were never pedigreed to Haïti.

Of Holey Dollars Without Countermarks: The Second Enigma

The first piece of the West Indian puzzle ends with the Hispaniola wine palm countermark, sending the crab and the pineapple to Gordon's "waste basket." What is the situation with the second piece of the West Indian puzzle: uncountermarked holey dollars with 12- to 13-mm holes (Schulman 1966, No. 1757F; Bachtell 1974, 599, No. CS 411)? Since the St.

Kitts attribution has also been sent to the waste basket for the smaller 12- to 13-mm holed 8 reales, and given the attribution of the larger 15- to 16-mm holed dollars to Prince Edward Island,[6] where are these coins really from? What about the French écus with 13- to 15-mm holes also listed under "St. Kitts" (Schulman 1966, No. 1757H; Bachtell 1974, 599, No. CS 412)? They too are from Haïti, as mentioned in the first section of this paper and as is shown below.

Small Hoards Found in Haïti

Various small findings of uncountermarked pieces have been recorded by several Haitian numismatists during the past years in areas where the authorized holey dollars of 1811–13 officially circulated (the Plaine du Cul-de-Sac around Port-au-Prince, and Anse-à-Veau in the Nippes regions where d'Haïtis had officially been put in circulation in May 1812 by an *arrêté* of President Pétion). These findings cover 8 out of 10 recorded 2 reales, 5 out of 6 recorded 4 reales, 19 out of 24 8 reales, the two known 960 reis, and 12 out of 13 French écus. Because these findings have been recorded for numismatic research purposes, it is easy to solve the so-called provenance problem of the palm tree countermark issue raised by a few collectors. In fact, it is much easier to say Haïti and definitely not St. Kitts! Indeed, the presence of forty-seven coins found in Haïti out of a population of fifty-five allows the numismatist to concentrate on other issues, such as metrology, the number of counterfeits, correlation with the June 1811 law, etc. (Plate 12, Figs. 1–6).

On first analysis, the striking fact of Table 5 is that of 55 uncountermarked Haïti pieces, 49 (89.7%) are genuine, whereas for the palm tree countermarked issue, only seven out of 15 (46.7%) recorded specimens are genuine. Indeed, thus far only two uncountermarked specimens (3.6%) are definitely classified as contemporary forgeries, contrary to the countermarked coins, where 6 out of 15 are counterfeits (the last two specimens listed in Table 5, line B3, are probably counterfeits also; see Table 3, No. 1–2).

Table 6 shows that the great majority of the recorded population is of the bust-type Spanish-American coinage. Only three "pillars" have been found so far, but this is to be expected, as they were stuck in smaller quantities than the "bust" coinage. The latter are also of a lower fineness than the "pillar" issues. The Spanish "moneda provincial" coins are used

Table 5. Genuine vs. Counterfeit Hosts for Haiti "Holey Dollars"

	Palm Tree Countermarked	Uncountermarked	Total
A. French Ecus	1	13	14
A1. Genuine host coins	—	12	12
A2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)	1	—	1
A3. Insufficient data or unsure	—	1	1
B. 8 Reales (inc. 960 reis)	8	26	34
B1. Genuine host coins	2	24	26
B2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)	4	1	5
B3. Insufficient data or unsure	2 (probably counterfeit)	1	3
C. 5 Francs	None recorded	None recorded	None recorded
D. 4 Reales	1	6	7
D1. Genuine host coins	1	5	6
D2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)	—	—	—
D3. Insufficient data or unsure	—	1	1
E. 2 Reales	5	10	15
E1. Genuine host coins	4	8	12
E2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)	1	1	2
E3. Insufficient data or unsure	—	1	1
F. Grand Total	15	55	70
F1. Genuine host coins	7 (46.7%)	49 (89.1%)	56 (80%)
F2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)	6 (40%)	2 (3.6%)	8 (11.4%)
F3. Insufficient data or unsure	2 (13.3%)	4 (7.3%)	6 (8.6%)

Source: Private collections

only in the pistareen denomination, one each for the countermarked and uncountermarked issues.

Table 7 furnishes the metrological characteristics of the uncountermarked coins, which match the denominations stipulated in the June 1811 law (with the exception of the 5 francs, which so far has not been found). Their almost perfect correlation to the weight standards of the 1811 issue is extremely interesting to note, with the average weight of the 4-reales specimens 99.4% of the standard weight, on the upper side compared to

Plate 12

Uncountermarked Holed Coins Found in Haïti

Fig. 1: 8R 1796 (Braun)

Fig. 2: Ecu 1784L (Braun)

Fig.3: 960 Reis 1810 (Lissade)

Fig. 4: 4R 1790 (Braun)

Fig. 5: 2R 1773 (Lissade)

Fig.6: Contemporary brass counterfeit of 8R 1789 Potosi (Braun)

Table 6. Type of Spanish-American Host Coins

	Countermarked					Uncountermarked				
	Bust Type	Pillar Type	Spanish Type	Other	Total	Bust Type	Pillar Type	Spanish Type	Other	Total
A. 8 Reales	8				8	24			2	26
B1. Genuine host coin	2				2	22			2	24
B2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)	6				6	1				1
B3. Insufficient data, or unsure						1				1
B. 4 Reales	1				1	6				6
D1. Genuine host coin	1				1	5				5
D2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)										
D3. Insufficient data, or unsure						1				1
C. 2 Reales	3	1	1		5	7	2	1		10
E1. Genuine host coin	2	1	1		4	5	2	1		8
E2. Counterfeit host coins (contemporary)	1				1	1				1
E3. Insufficient data, or unsure						1				1
D. Total	12	1	1		14	37	2	1	2	42
	85.7%	7.1%	7.1%	0%	100%	88.1%	4.8%	2.4%	4.8%	100%
E. Grand Total	49 Bust					or				87.5%
	3 Pillars									5.4%
	2 Spanish *moneda provincial*									3.6%
	2 Brazilian 960 reis									3.6%
	56 Specimens					or				100%

Source: Private collections

Table 7. The Metrology of Haiti Uncountermarked Holed Pieces

Host Coins	Average Hole Size (Standard Deviation)	Average Holed Weight (Standard Deviation)	Weight Range (min–max)	Average Weight As % of Standard
Ecus 6 livres (12 escalins)	13.77 mm (0.38)	25.074 g (0.476), n = 12	24.060–25.820 g	97.0%
8 Reales (11 escalins)				
Bust type	12.66 mm (0.56)	23.777 g (0.389), n = 22	22.950–25.640 g	98.4%
960 Reis (Brazil on 8R)	12.75 mm (0.20)	23.530 g (0.099), n = 2	23/46–23.60 g	97.4%
Pillar Type	—	—	—	—
Counterfeit	8.30 mm	19.840 g, n = 1	N/A	82.1% (brass)
5 Francs (10 escalins)	—	—	—	—
4 Reales (5½ escalins)	10.60 mm (0.70), n = 5	12.009 g (0.110), n = 5	11.490–12.105 g	99.4%
2 Reales (2¾ escalins)				
Bust type	9.00 mm (0.11)	5.745 g (0.154), n = 5	5.574–5.910 g	95.1%
Pillar type	9.25 mm (0.28)	5.395 g (0.346), n = 2	5.150–5.600 g	89.3%
Spanish pistareen	8.44 mm	4.718 g, n = 1	N/A	78.1%
Counterfeit	5.00 mm	5.617 g, n=1	N/A	93% (silvered copper)

Source: Private collections

the 2-reales coins, which are 95% of standard for the bust-type coins and 89.3% for the pillar specimens (of course, variations in the average weight of unholed 2 reales are notorious, so this is not surprising).

The mean weights of the French écus and the bust-type 8 reales represent 97.0% and 98.4% of the weight standards calculated in Table 2 (99.4% and 98.7%, respectively, if the assay weights are used instead of the official weights). The two known 960-reis holed specimens were both found in Haïti and on average weigh 23.530 g or 97.4% of the 8R standard (these Brazilian coins were overstruck on 8-reales bust-type specimens and circulated as dollars like their Spanish-American counterparts).

A trial list of known dates for which metrological data are available and that conform to the stipulations of the June 1811 law is as follows:

2 reales
- Pillar-type: 1738 MF Mexico, 1768 M Mexico
- Bust-type: 1773 FM Mexico (2), 1781 FF Mexico, 1782 FF Mexico, 1789 FF Mexico
- Pistareen: 1736 Madrid
- Counterfeit: 180? RG Guatemala (bust-type, contemporary counterfeit)
- Insufficient data, or unsure: 1814 JB Lima

4 reales
- Bust-type: 1786 FM Mexico, 1789 FM Mexico, 1790 FM Mexico (2), 1799 PP Potosí
- Insufficient data or unsure: 1800 PP Potosí

8 reales (including 960 reis)
- Bust-type: 1776 FM Mexico (3), 1776 PR Potosí, 1778 FF Mexico, 1787 FM Mexico, 1789 FM Mexico (2), 1790 FM Mexico, 1791 FM Mexico, 1794 FM Mexico, 1796 FM Mexico, 1800 FM Mexico (3), 1800 IJ Lima, 1800 PP Potosí, 1801 FT Mexico, 1804 FJ Santiago, 1804 TH Mexico, 1805 PJ Potosí, 1807 TH Mexico
- Brazil 960 reis: 1810 (2)
- Counterfeit: 1789 PR Potosí (bust-type, contemporary counterfeit)
- Insufficient data, or unsure: 1809 (assayer and mint unknown)

Ecus

- Louis XV and XVI: 1767 Pau (2); 1768 Pau; 1769 Pau; 1773 Pau; 1778 Pau; 1784 L Bayonne (3); 1784 I Limoges; 1784 Pau; 1785 Pau
- Insufficient data, or unsure: 1778 I Limoges

Table 7 is also very important in helping ascertain the weight and size characteristics of the plugs as will be seen in the next section, which addresses on the third piece of the puzzle. The average size of the holes decreases from 13.73 mm for the écus, to 12.76 mm for the 8R, to 10.60 mm for the 4R, and finally to 9 mm for the genuine bust-type 2R. It is interesting to note, in comparison, that the hole sizes for the palm countermarks are smaller: the 8R holes are between 10 and 13 mm (average: 11.8 mm) and those of the 2R range from 6 to 7 mm. For most genuine specimens of both the countermarked and uncountermarked series, the cut is a smooth one, from the obverse or bust-side (seven uncountermarked specimens are known cut from the reverse). For the countermarked series, some of the cast counterfeits exhibit jagged, irregular holes.

Areas for Further Research

The holed uncountermarked coins are subject to less controversy than the palm-tree coins because they are more numerous, have a very small percentage of counterfeits, show less variation around the mean weights and, of course, do not have the problem of countermark varieties.

Four of the five denominations authorized by the 1811 law have been recorded; why have no 5-franc pieces been found? Is it because none were holed? Indeed, it would have been politically unacceptable for the *République d'Haïti,* the first black republic and the first successful slave revolution to have founded an anti-colonialist state, to pierce coins in the middle that would then circulate as official coins of Haïti, with the legend REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE (Hercules type, 1795–96 through 1802–03; Napoleon type, 1802–03 through 1808) or EMPIRE FRANÇAIS / NAPOLEON EMPEREUR (1809–11). Since France and Napoléon had attempted to reestablish slavery in Haïti in 1802–03 and were Haïti's worst enemies, how incongruous and incredible it would be for the Haitian government to officially issue these coins as *Monnaie d'Haïti!* Piercing and

circulating French and Spanish royal coins is not the same as issuing French republican or Napoleonic imperial coins.

It will be recalled that the 1811 law provided for the piercing of a maximum of 100,000 gourdes, and if the initial estimates of 40,000 are to be noted, the calculations made from the official authorization of the paper-money issue and from Thomas Madiou's second estimate tend to support the hypothesis that the full 100,000 gourdes were pierced. Were there then various piercings? Was the uncountermarked issue a second piercing? Of course, this brings to the fore an obvious question: since both issues conform to the June 1811 law in terms of weight, size, and location of hole, authorized denominations, dates of recorded specimens, etc., is the uncountermarked issue prior or posterior to the palm-tree countermarked issue, i.e., circa 1811 or circa 1812–13?

Given the extensive counterfeiting to which the 1811 issue was subjected, it would stand to reason that the palm-tree issue, having a much higher percentage of counterfeits (40%, and possibly 53.3%, versus 3.6% for the uncountermarked issue) would chronologically be first in line, and the uncountermarked coins would probably represent a second piercing. In addition, since article 3 of the June 1811 law specifically mandated a countermark, it would be normal to think that the countermarked issue would come first.

But why a second piercing? When would it have occurred? The present state of research does not allow us to unequivocally state that there was a second issue, let alone answer why or when. It is incontrovertible, however, that both uncountermarked and countermarked issues correlate almost perfectly with the metrology and other characteristics of the June 1811 law. No other Caribbean island has a law known today that matches the characteristics of the countermarked and uncountermarked issues of Haïti.

It is therefore only possible to speculate as to why there would be two piercings. Obviously, the extensive counterfeiting would constitute a motive, since it would be imperative for the government to break the spiral, perhaps by a new and different issue, one that could be noticed immediately as it would be uncountermarked. A second piercing, in addition to providing more seigniorage to Pétion's government, would also have given the pierced coins a new lease on life. It could have occurred as early as May 1812, when the new minting equipment arrived for the Port-au-Prince

Mint (Ardouin [1856] 1958, VIII, 10, says that the mint was already functioning in May). Since the demonetization of the pierced coins did not officially begin until May 1813, twelve months after the receipt of the equipment and only when a "certain quantity of struck [serpent] coins, and a considerable quantity of flans" (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 167n) were available, it could logically be conjectured that a second piercing filled the void. It was also during this same period that the death penalty for counterfeiters was instituted.

This certainly requires more investigation. Research by the author in the Archives Nationales d'Haïti has not provided any document to refute or confirm the hypothesis of a second piercing. For the moment, however, the fact that the uncountermarked series corresponds almost perfectly to the standard of the 1811 law and a majority of known specimens have been found in Haïti is more than enough to justify their Haïti attribution.

Of Unattributed Plugs: The Third Enigma

Since Lyman Low's 1885 sale of a small plug similar to Figures 5 and 6 in Plate 13, these small *moços* cut from Spanish-American dollars have remained a mystery. In 1997, the author's presentation at the Berlin International Numismatic Congress lifted this veil of mystery by showing that they corresponded perfectly to the stipulations and the metrology of the June 1811 piercing of holey dollars by President Pétion. They were, after all, Haïti's missing escalins.

The 1 and 2 Escalins of Haïti

Based on Articles 1 and 2 of the 1811 law, the *moços* that came to be known as *d'Haïtis* were to be extracted from the host coins as shown in Tables 1 and 2, which are summarized below:

Host Coin	Value of Plug	Presumed Weight (g)
Écu	2½ escalins	3.625
8 reales	2 escalins	2.900
5 francs	1½ escalins	2.175
4 reales	1 escalin	1.450
2 reales	½ escalin	0.725

Plate 13 *Escalins of Haïti : The So-Called "Unattributed West Indies" Plugs*

Countermarked plugs:

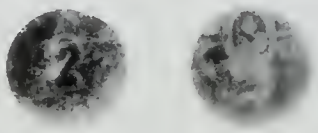
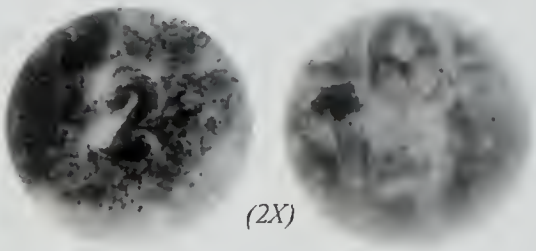


Fig.1 and 2 : Small "2" escalins c/m



(2X)

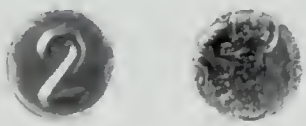
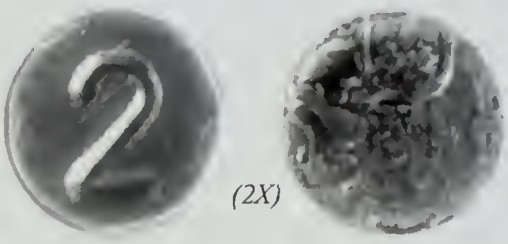


Fig. 3 and 4 : Big "2" c/m



(2X)

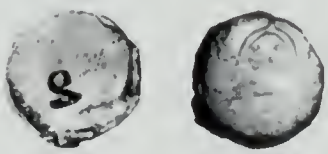
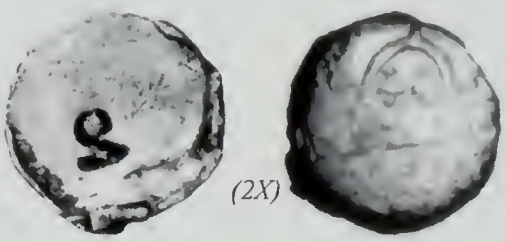
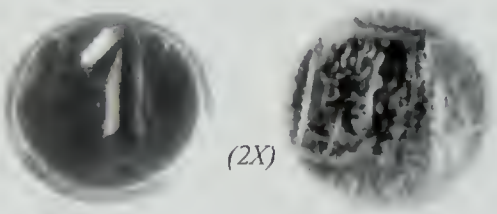


Fig. 5 and 6 : Reverse "2" c/m



(2X)

Fig. 7 and 8 : "1"escalin c/m



(2X)

Uncountermarked 2½ escalin plug : Haïti ?

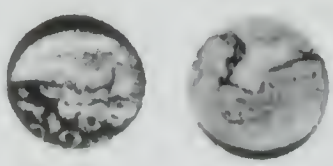
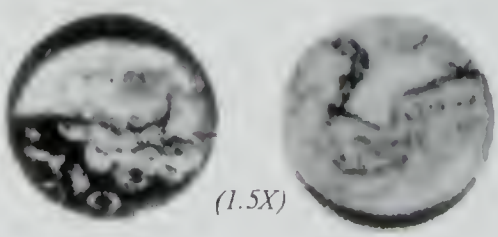


Fig. 9 and 10: Uncountermarked plug from French "ecu constitutionnel" 1792



(1.5X)

After Pétion's specimen extraction of a plug from a dollar, the weight of his *moço* was established at 54 *grains de marc,* or 2.868 g (see Table 2). Using the proportions of his specimen (2.868/26.77 g, or 10.71%), the official weight of each coin, as well as the increments in value for each type of plug, it is possible, as shown in Table 2 and above, to arrive at the presumed theoretical weight of each type of plug.

The known specimens of 1- and 2-escalin plugs are recorded in Table 8. They bear at least one of the two countermarks mandated by Article 3 of the 1811 law: the value (denomination). They are only known with one countermark. As mentioned previously, it was perhaps very awkward or even impossible to countermark a 2½, 1½, and ½ on the other plugs. Even their equivalent in cents would not have been easily counterstamped on such small plugs (1 escalin was worth 9 cents), since fractions would also have been involved for the 2½ (22½ cents), 1½ (13½ cents) and ½ escalin (4½ cents).

The only two recorded 1-escalin plugs weigh 1.19 g and 1.223 g, or 82.1% and 84.4% of the presumed theoretical standard of 1.45 g. They measure 11.55 and 10.75 mm, respectively, which correspond very closely to the 10.60-mm average hole of the five known 4-real uncountermarked specimens found in Haïti. They also are within the range of the diameters of both the entry and exit holes. Indeed, the 10.60-mm diameter cited previously is the average exit (smaller) hole of the recorded pierced 4 reales specimens, which range from 9.57 to 11.35 mm. On two of the specimens it was possible to measure the entry (larger) hole with diameters of 11.65 and 12.20 mm. The diameters of the two known 1-escalin plugs thus correlate perfectly with those of both the entry and exit holes of recorded host coins.

With regards to their weight, the known holed 4-reales specimens weigh on average 12.009 g, about 99.4% of the official standard of 12.082 g (i.e., the official weight of a 4 reales—13.532 g—less the estimated weight of 1.450 g for the plug). If we use the assayed figure of 13.385 g provided by Kelly (1823, II, 331), the implicit weight of the actual *moços* extracted from the five known 4-reales specimens would be 1.523 g, about 25% to 28% above the weight of the two known 1-escalin plugs. A population of two plugs is, of course, statistically insignificant, so it is difficult to derive a conclusion from these figures. They are close enough, however, to the presumed weights to be acceptable. But, more importantly, given the extensive

Table 8. Known 1- and 2-escalin Plugs of Haiti

Type of Countermark	Collection	Diameter (mm)	Weight		Observations
			Grams	% of Standard	
1 Escalin					
1. Big, incuse 1	G. Lissade	10.75	1.223	84.3%	Found in Haiti (smooth cut)
2. Big, incuse 1	F. C. Braun	11.55	1.190	82.1%	Found in Haiti (smooth cut)
	Average #1–2	11.15	1.207	83.2%	
2 Escalins					
I. Normal 2					
1. Small, incuse 2	I. Rudman	12.35 × 13.33	1.52	52.4%	Ex-Ford Collection (Glendining's/ Baldwin 1989, No. 234); irregular cut
2. Small, incuse 2	G. Lissade	12.75	2.587	89.2%	Found in Haiti (smooth cut)
3. Small, incuse 2	F. C. Braun	12.15	2.73	94.2%	Found in Haiti (smooth cut)
4. Small, incuse 2	F. C. Braun	11.00	1.87	64.5%	Ex-US collection (smooth cut)
	Average #1–4	12.18	2.177	75.1%	
5. Big, incuse 2	G. Lissade	11.52	2.365	81.6%	Found in Haiti (smooth cut)
	Average #1–5	12.05	2.214	76.4%	
II. Reverse 2					
6. Small, incuse reverse 2	I. Rudman	13.94 × 14.11	3.19	110.0%	Ex-Glendining's 1990, No. 40 (under Dominica); irregular cut
7. Small, incuse reverse 2	ANS	13	1.65	59.6%	1931 accession
8. Small, incuse reverse 2	E. Roehrs	13 × 16	3.238	111.7%	Ex-Stack's 1983, No. 585 (according to Roehrs: ex-Low 1885, No. 591; ex-Schulman 1930, No. 562 [F. David]); irregular cut with appendage
9. Small, incuse reverse 2	Unknown	13 × 16	3.3	113.8%	Ex-Schulman 1926, No. 357 (no plate); same coin as No. 8?
	Average #6–9	~13.8	2.845	98.1%	
	Average #1–9	~12.9	2.494	86.0%	Without No. 9, the mean weight is 2.394 g (82.5%)

Source: Private collections

counterfeiting to which they were subjected, it is not at all impossible that they were well within the tolerance of contemporary forgeries.

They might be, to paraphrase Guy Joseph Bonnet (1864, 256n1), specimens forged by "Diobelle" that were "acceptable" in the marketplace; or perhaps they were too low in weight and would instead be from "Denis", making them "worthless". Found in Haïti, these two plugs can at least allow us to have a basis for comparison.

Today, there are a recorded eight (possibly nine) 2-escalin plugs (Plate 13, Figs. 1–6). The overall potential population does not exceed twelve specimens. As can be seen from Table 8, their weights vary from 1.52 g to 3.3 g: three weigh 1.52 g, 1.65 g, and 1.87 g, whereas the others weigh between 2.365 g and 3.3 g. If the average weight of the population is 2.494 g, or about 86% of the presumed theoretical standard, this average changes dramatically when the two lower-weight specimens are taken out of the calculations: 2.90 g and 100% of the presumed standard. The lower-weight specimens represent only 52% to 57% of the standard and could be contemporary forgeries of two types: a) they were manufactured as forgeries to weigh 1.52 g and 1.65 g, with inferior fineness; or b) more surprisingly, they could be genuine 4-reales plugs that were counterstamped with a 2 by the forger, netting a 100% illicit gain with a real plug simply by forging the counterstamp! Such ease in illegally making money explains the explosion in counterfeiting that accompanied the piercing of the gourdes in 1811 as recorded by all of Haïti's historians. In comparison with the *moços* from the Dominica holey dollars, Byrne (1970, 331) notes that the weight of the plugs varied from 1.36 g to 3.77 g, or 44% to 108% of the official weight standard, highlighting the "relative ease with which these were (and are) counterfeited".

Three Port-au-Prince Mint receipts totaling 5,000 gourdes of *d'Haïtis* (4 and 31 August, 13 October 1814) supply very valuable information. The average weights for the three lots of 2000, 1000, and 2000 gourdes of *d'Haïtis* were 1.58 g, 1.50 g, and 1.58 g per plug of 2 escalins.[7] The two lower-weight plugs match these averages perfectly, which also corroborate the high percentage of counterfeits mentioned previously.

How do the known 2-escalin plugs compare to the plugs that have come out of the twenty-two specimens of holed uncountermarked 8 reales for which data is available? The dollars mentioned in Table 7 have an average

hole size of 12.66 mm, with a minimum exit (smaller) hole of 11.60 mm and a maximum of 13.44 mm; their plugs (based on a 27.064 g official unholed weight, and the 23.777 g average holed weight) would weigh 3.288 g on average, with a range of 2.822 to 3.684 g, or 113.4% on average of the standard deduced from Pétion's specimen (minimum 97.3%, maximum 127.0%). Keeping in mind that these twenty-two holey dollars are not forgeries and that the *d'Haïti* plugs were extensively counterfeited, it would seem that with the exception of the two underweight plugs (1 and 7), the majority of the known plugs have diameters and weights that match those of the plugs corresponding to the genuine holey dollars mentioned above.

Of the nine 2-escalin plugs listed in Table 8, the location of number 9 is presently unknown. The possible existence of four other specimens is recorded as follows:

Normal 2 countermark

1. H. Wood 1914, 120 (Fig.126): small 2, irregular cut
2. Schulman 1966, No. 1757 I (no plate)

Reverse 2 countermark

3. Caldecott 1904, Plate 11, No. 16

No countermark

4. Ponterio 1989, No. 589 (under Trinidad)—center cut from 8R, with "two small punch marks", 2.2 g, 11 × 12 mm (this plug probably is a *d'Haïti,* but the punch marks need further analysis).

Problems of ½, 1½, and 2 ½ Escalins *Moços*

No specimens of the ½ and 1½ escalins are known today. The physical parameters of the ½-escalin plug can be established, however, because eight 2-reales host coins from which these small plugs would have been extracted are in private collections. This is unfortunately impossible for the 1½-escalin plug, since there are no recorded 5-franc holed pieces. For these plugs, only the presumed weight given previously can be estimated.

From the existence of eight holed, noncounterfeit 2 reales (Table 7), of which five are bust-type coins, two are pillars, and the last is a Spanish "moneda provincial" pistareen, it is possible to deduce the expected diameters and weights of the *moços* or plugs:

- Diameter: average 8.99 mm (min: 8.44 mm; max: 9.45 mm for the exit or small holes); the range for the countermarked series (cf. Table 4) is much smaller: 6 to 7 mm.
- Weight: average 1.237 g (min: 0.856 g; max: 2.048 g; note: based on a 6.766-g official weight for the 2 reales; however, using a 5.831-g assayed weight for the lone Spanish pistareen, the plug would have weighed 1.130 g instead of the 2.048 g listed above, and the average of all the plugs would have thus dropped to 1.122 g instead of 1.237 g—i.e., 154.8% instead of 170.6% of the 0.725 g expected or presumed standard).

As mentioned before, none of these 2R plugs has so far been recorded, but they probably were not countermarked, as it would have been extremely difficult to stamp a ½ on a very small 6- to 9-mm plug. Perhaps the publicity presently given to the series since the author's presentation at the Berlin International Numismatic Congress will stimulate collectors to look at their odd pieces for small plugs with the above physical characteristics, with or without a countermark.

The situation for the 2½-escalin plugs from French écus is different. There are three (possibly four) plugs that may be *d'Haïti moços.* Data for the lone countermarked écu are not available; however, from the 12 (out of 13) uncountermarked écus for which statistical data have been recorded, the expected physical characteristics can be summarized as follows:

- Diameter: average 13.77 mm (min.: 12.76 mm; max.: 14.15 mm; note: for five of the specimens, the larger entry holes are 15.51 mm on average, with a minimum of 15 mm and a maximum of 15.80 mm).
- Weight: average 4.414 g (min.: 3.668 g; max.: 5.428 g; note: based on a 29.488-g official weight for the écus; however, using a 28.77-g assayed weight (Chalmers 1893, 404), the average plug would have weighed 3.696 g with a minimum of 2.95 g and a maximum of 4.71 g).

The following plugs can be compared to these expected characteristics:

1. ANS collection: 17.8 mm, 5.12 g. Observations: Although the weight falls within the upper bounds of the expected range, the diameter poses a real problem as it does not correspond to the above data. This uncountermarked piece is probably not a *d'Haïti,* unless it was going to be melted down by forgers to "create" new *d'Haïtis,* turning

a profit on both a lower-weight holey dollar as well as on the forged plugs.

2. Ex-Schulman (Gibbs) 1966, No. 1757 J: about 14 to 15 mm based on the plate; weight unavailable. Observations: This plug (Plate 13, Figs. 9 and 10) is erroneously listed by Schulman/Gibbs as being from a 5 francs, but an analysis of the plate shows it to be from an écu constitutionnel of 1792 and after. The plug, based on its obverse and reverse, is cut from the bottom and not the middle as stipulated in the 1811 law. Although the diameter would correspond to the expected physical characteristics derived from the known écus, it is difficult to arrive at a conclusion because the weight is unknown. Furthermore, no holed écus constitutionnels have been recorded. In conclusion, this plug is more likely than not to be a *d'Haïti*. Its present location is unknown.
3. Ex-Christensen 1978, No. 691: 13.50 mm, 4.415 g. Observations: Christensen says "France or French Colonies. Round center plug from a 1792 Constitutional Ecu from the Paris mint. Whence it came? This is probably a modern fabrication". Unfortunately, there was no plate of the coin, which also did not attract any bids. Would this uncountermarked plug be the Gibbs specimen mentioned above? The diameter is very close to the expected average of 13.77 mm mentioned previously. The weight is slightly lower than the minimum registered of 3.668 g, but if the assay weight is used instead of the official weight for the calculations, a 3.415 g plug would be within the range and is in fact quite close to the average. The same problem listed for the Gibbs specimen can be raised for this piece: if the plug is a center cut, it would be impossible to determine with precision that the host coin is a 1792 Paris mint specimen. Nevertheless, given the size and the weight of this plug, the bias would tend toward a Haïti attribution.
4. Ex-Ponterio 1993, No. 1213: plug from French écu, ~14 mm, 3.4 g, countermarked reverse 3 in rectangular indent. Observations: This is an extremely interesting plug from a physical point of view (weight, diameter, host coin, which match the ranges given above for the plugs) and from the vantage point of the countermark. Indeed, the 3 is very close to 2½ escalins. In addition, the reverse 3 is striking

in its similarity to the reverse 2 variety of the 2-escalin plug. Since no plate is available, it is unfortunately impossible to further analyze this coin, which certainly merits more research.

As can be seen, the four plugs described above (or three, if numbers 2 and 3 are the same coin) are problematic. Plugs 2 and 3 are good candidates for a Haïti attribution, but plug 1 is less so. Plug 4 is the most interesting of the lot, not only because of its physical characteristics but also, and especially, because it is the only countermarked specimen. Although a 3 (escalin) denomination was not provided for in the 1811 law, it is sufficiently close to a 2½ denomination to merit closer scrutiny, in addition to constituting a preliminary answer to the problem raised previously concerning the awkwardness of a 2½ stamp on a small plug. Future investigation of this series can only be beneficial.

The Haitian Mystery Solved: Conclusions, Issues, and Areas for Further Research

The solution to the "Haitian mystery" is also the solution to the Caribbean triple enigma. Figuring out the solution to the Haitian holed and counterstamped issue of 1811 helps with the solution to the West Indies puzzle at the heart of this paper. In this last section, conclusions concerning the three pieces of the puzzle will be summarized and some issues and areas for further research will be discussed.

The analysis of the June 1811 law authorizing the piercing of five denominations of foreign coins (8, 4, and 2 reales; 5-franc pieces; and écus) has been instrumental in establishing the weight and other physical characteristics of the Haitian holed coins of 1811–13. Armed with historical data on their creation, the extensive counterfeiting to which they were subject, and their demonetization, it has been possible to establish the perimeter as well as the contents of what has been called in this paper the "Haitian mystery". The life and death of the *d'Haïtis* has provided sufficient evidence to unravel the mystery.

Indeed, this paper has shown that:

1. The countermarked and holed écus and 8, 4, and 2 reales shown in Plates 10 and 11 bear a stamp of the Haitian wine palm (*Pseudophoenix vinifera,* endemic to Hispaniola) and not as previously thought, a

pineapple or a crab; they are from Haïti and not Barbados or Vieques, which never issued laws to authorize such a countermark or the piercing of dollars and écus;

2. The uncountermarked and holed écus and 8, 4, and 2 reales (Plate 12), with holes and weights corresponding to those in Tables 2 and 7, are from Haïti and not from St. Kitts, which never authorized the piercing of dollars and écus; and
3. The mysterious small plugs counterstamped with a 1 and a 2 (Plate 13; Table 8) correspond perfectly in origin of host coin, weight, and diameter to the countermarked and uncountermarked pieces mentioned above as well as the escalin denominations mentioned in the 27 June 1811 law.

Of course, the finding in Haïti of various specimens of both the uncountermarked holed coins and the small plugs has strongly assisted in confirming the Haïti attribution given to these coins. Nevertheless, the fact that none of the fifteen known (and extremely rare) counterstamped holed pieces has been officially traced to Haïti may leave some doubts with certain numismatists, despite the overwhelming evidence from legal and historical sources for a Haïti attribution and the complete absence of proof for any other attribution, such as Barbados or Vieques. In addition to their rarity and the fact that the great majority have been offered for sale only intermittently from 1917 to 1966, all the physical, legal, and historical indicators point towards Haïti. Needless to say, the discarding of the Barbados and Vieques attributions for lack of evidence, and the lack of any known law from another Caribbean or non-Caribbean country with stipulations matching the physical characteristics of the countermarked pieces, strongly plead in favor of the Haïti attribution. In addition, the striking visual similarity between the wine palm, only known in Hispaniola according to botanists, and the countermark, adds credence to the other of evidence presented in this paper.

For the sake of completeness, two other mutually exclusive hypotheses need to be analyzed:

Hypothesis I. All the Haïti holed pieces were countermarked, as mandated in the June 1811 law.
Implication: None of the uncountermarked holed pieces found in Haïti are from Haïti (unless they represent a second issue).

Hypothesis II. None of the Haïti holed pieces were countermarked.
Implication: None of the countermarked pieces are from Haïti.

The analysis of these hypotheses in this paper leads to their rejection because they are improbable and there is no supporting evidence (at best, it is extremely weak). The first hypothesis can be rejected because of the following:

1. Uncountermarked holed pieces were found in Haïti in geographical areas that correspond to those given in official notices concerning their circulation and demonetization;
2. The uncountermarked holed pieces can be matched very easily to the stipulations of the 1811 law, in terms of:
   a) denominations of host coins,
   b) weight standards,
   c) location of hole,
   d) size of holes relative to the diameters of plugs,
   e) correct dates for host coins.
3. No other recorded Caribbean, legally mandated piercings of French écus and Spanish-American 8, 4, and 2 reales conform to the weight and diameter of the uncountermarked specimens found in Haïti.

From these facts, it is possible to conclude that there is almost no probability that *all* the Haïti pieces were countermarked. Therefore, hypothesis I can be rejected. With regard to hypothesis II, the evidence and data also strongly support a rejection:

1. Article 3 of the 1811 law specifically mandated a countermark ("un poinçon"); it thus stands to reason that one was applied at least in the beginning; moreover, since the plugs were counterstamped, it also stands to reason that the host coin was also.
2. Visually, the countermark bears a striking resemblance to a palm tree, Haïti's national symbol and one that had previously, in 1808, been mandated for use on a coin issue; it bears especially close resemblance to the wine palm, endemic to Hispaniola.
3. The countermarked pieces can also be matched very easily to the major stipulations of the 1811 law, in terms of:
   a) denominations of host coins,
   b) weight standards of genuine host coins,

c) location of hole,
d) size of hole,
e) correct dates for host coins.

4. The high proportion of counterfeits in the fifteen known specimens closely matches the historical evidence about the extensive counterfeiting that occurred between 1811 and 1813.
5. Other than Barbados and Vieques, which have already been discarded, no other known Caribbean or non-Caribbean country is known to have mandated by law a countermark on host coins that correspond to the denominations listed in the June 1811 Haïti law.

For these reasons, it is impossible to accept the proposition that *none* of the countermarked pieces are from Haïti; there is only a very low, at best unlikely, probability that the countermarked coins attributed to Haïti are from another country. Rejection of hypothesis II is thus the most logical outcome of the visual, physical, legal, and historical evidence that supports the Haïti palm-tree countermark attribution.

Given the rejection of these mutually exclusive hypotheses, another explanation must be found. Barring attribution to another country, only two other hypotheses remain to explain the Haitian mystery:

Hypothesis III. None of the Haïti holed coins were originally countermarked, but a countermark was later applied to signal false, low-weight, deficient host coins.
Implication: All of the countermarked hosts are contemporary counterfeits.

Hypothesis IV. There were two issues: one countermarked, the other not.
Implication: Both countermarked and uncountermarked holed pieces are from Haïti.

Hypothesis III can be rejected at the outset, since there are seven known genuine countermarked hosts (two 8R, one 4R, four 2R). Indeed, it is impossible to admit the implication that all the countermarked hosts are false. A variant of this hypothesis might be that the countermark was applied at the time of demonetization, simply as a "canceling" device. Although arguable, this variant is not necessarily tenable, especially because the 1811 law specified a countermark at the outset and not upon demonetization. Moreover, none of the legal acts demonetizing the *d'Haïtis* mention the

application of a countermark. In addition, the *Arrêté* of 12 May 1811 on counterfeits existing prior to the holey dollar issue stipulates that the false coins found in circulation were to be "brisé" (broken in pieces), not counterstamped.

With the rejection of hypothesis III, hypothesis IV remains the logical and probable explanation. The conclusion that both the countermarked and uncountermarked holed pieces constitute the Haïti 1811–13 issue is well supported by the following:

1. Both series are in conformity with the stipulations of the 1811 law, with regards to:
   a) denominations (4 of 5 coin types exist);
   b) location of hole; and
   c) dates of host coins.
2. Both series exhibit the expected physical characteristics of the holed coins, in terms of weight and diameters of holes.
3. Both series can be seamlessly linked to the different types of known plugs, particularly those countermarked 1 and 2 escalins, which exhibit correct weights and diameters.

Some secondary issues remain as areas of research, but in all of the important areas (denominations and dates, metrology, conformity to the law, visual resemblance of the countermark to the Hispaniola wine palm), both the countermarked and uncountermarked series, as well as the plugs, can be attributed without reticence to Haïti, thus simultaneously solving the "Haitian mystery" as well as the Caribbean triple enigma.

From Barbados via Vieques and St. Kitts, from holed and countermarked coins to pierced and uncountermarked specimens, from a pineapple to a crab, this most interesting of West Indies numismatic puzzles ends where it all started in 1811: in Haïti, with its endemic wine palm, *Pseudophoenix vinifera.*

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Notes

1. Both the Caldecott and Wood illustrations have a small, almost invisible countermark which today has been identified as that of Prince Edward Island (cf. Chris Faulkner's contribution to this volume). Since both numismatists mentioned that the dollar was uncountermarked, later catalogers such as Schulman (1966) listed uncountermarked specimens with a 15–16 mm hole under St. Kitts, following Wood. But they also listed uncountermarked dollars with smaller holes (11–13 mm) under St. Kitts.

2. See Dewamin ([1893–1899] 1989, III, Fig. 213) for a diagram of an *emporte-pièce* or *coupoire,* reproduced from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie.*

3. It is interesting to note that the demonetization of the 12-bit pierced dollar of 1813 of Dominica produced a 3.2-to-1 counterfeit ratio: 28,537 counterfeits to 9,202 genuine dollars issued.

4. A recent Stack's auction (2–3 December 1997) states that there are 196 known Australian holey dollars.

5. This advertisement was also commented on by Mangonès (1977, 76), who incorrectly understood another ad by Audain offering to buy the "three pieces that constitute the piastre" as indicating that the three-coin piercing of Dominica in 1813 (Pridmore 1965, 157, 165) had circulated in Haïti. Quite on the contrary, Audain's "three pieces" refers to the 100-centime coins of Boyer, three of which were to pass for a US dollar or piastre, as explained in the monetary reform laws of 1872–73.

6. There are two uncountermarked 15–16 mm specimens in the E. Roehrs collection. The author had always believed that, not being of the proper weight standard (21.65 g on average, or only 82.1% of the Haitian holey dollar standard), they were either the contemporary product of counterfeiters attempting to profit from a lower-weight dollar and a heavier, meltable plug, or that they were not from Haïti. They since have been attributed to Prince Edward Island.

7. The following possibility has been discarded but is mentioned for the sake of completeness of analysis: the law of 8 May 1813 provided, in Article 3, that false *d'Haïtis* be received at the Public Treasury for only 50% of their value (Linstant Pradine 1860–86, II, 165). If the aforementioned receipts were registered for 50% of their original value, the weights would have been doubled to 3.16, 3.00, and 3.16 g per 2 escalins, respectively, or about 103% to 111% of the standard. Since none of the receipts, however, mention the term "monnaie d'Haïti altérée" contained in Pétion's letter of 26 September 1814 to the Treasurer General, it is concluded that the mint receipts were not for "altered" or forged plugs.

Holey Dollars and Other Bitts and Pieces of Prince Edward Island

Chris Faulkner

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I

This paper is about the presence of various sorts of cut money among the circulating specie on Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.) in the early part of the nineteenth century. My inquiry into the general phenomenon of cut money on P.E.I. was prompted by a number of highly suggestive, if somewhat enigmatic kinds of documentary evidence that came to hand in the course of research on the holey dollar and dump of Prince Edward Island. This research on the P.E.I. holey dollar and dump has been directed towards understanding the circumstances surrounding the production and circulation of these coins and towards compiling an inventory of known specimens, with their provenance, pedigree, technical specifications, and diagnostic particulars, along with an accompanying photographic record. What I discovered was that the celebrated P.E.I. holey dollar was not the only example of cut money in use on the Island in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. Consequently, this paper will dwell less on the holey dollar and more on other, heretofore unknown, examples of the circulation of cut money, including West Indies cut and counterstamped coinage.

The general story of how Governor Charles Douglass Smith created a distinctive coinage for Prince Edward Island is fairly well known and justifiably famous. By order of a Minute of the Executive Council of the Legislative Assembly of P.E.I., dated 22 September 1813, Smith directed "that Spanish Dollars, limited to the amount of One Thousand, shall be cut at the Treasury, by having a circular piece taken out of the centre of each — the Dollars so cut, are to be issued from and received at the Treasury at the rate of five shillings currency each, and the piece so taken out to be

Figure 1. Prince Edward Island holey dollar and dump.

issued from and received at the Treasury at one shilling currency each" (Graham 1988, 21) (Fig. 1). We know this directive was carried out because by 7 May 1814, not seven months after the scheme was launched, a meeting of the Island's Executive Council noted "the circumstances of sundry fraudulent and unprincipled persons having presumed to cut numbers of dollars in imitation of those issued from the Treasury and to circulate the same" (Graham 1988, 22). The proliferation of counterfeits continued at such a pace that the Government was forced to issue a proclamation announcing that it would redeem all of its own productions up to 28 September 1814, at the rates at which they were issued. With the incentive to profit gone, I think it can be safely assumed that the production of counterfeits ceased in 1814. After that date, the population was presumably left to its own devices so far as the continuing circulation of cut and/or counterstamped money was concerned.

There can be little doubt that a telltale counterstamp is what enabled the Island Treasurer to distinguish Government issue dollars and dumps from those cut and circulated by "sundry fraudulent and unprincipled persons". Those "persons" were well-placed individuals, "little to be suspected", in Governor Smith's own words, and doubtless Charlottetown merchants (Smith 1823, 264). Because we have no documentary record of what an official counterstamp looked like, it is impossible today to distinguish a Government coin from a merchant's counterfeit. In any event, let it be said that since the counterfeits clearly circulated, and well after 1814, they have every just claim to our serious attention as part of the circulating medium on Prince Edward Island in the early part of the nineteenth century.

There is nothing else quite like this in the history of circulating specie in Canada. Perhaps the only currency phenomenon to rival Smith's bold plan was when playing cards were cut up and turned into money during the French regime in Quebec in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We should remind ourselves that the purpose behind the ingenious scheme of the French Intendants and behind the proposal of Governor Smith was to create an emergency-issue currency that would solve the immediate shortage of a circulating medium for a desperate population. In P.E.I. in 1813, that population is estimated at about 12,000 (Graham 1988, 21). No census was taken in 1813, but this may be a reasonable estimate because in November 1805 a population of 7,041 was recorded (Public Archives of

Prince Edward Island), and by 1827 the figure was 23,266 (Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation). It is an important fact that through immigration the population increased dramatically between the mid-teens and the late twenties.

Governor Smith's action is the only instance of the cutting *and* counterstamping of Spanish-American silver in what is present-day Canada, or even in the whole of mainland British North America. It also represents the only instance of a silver token coinage for Canada of native manufacture. My argument has always been that Smith's creation of the holey dollar was just a short-term step in a long-term plan and that he had no intention of letting cut Spanish silver serve as a permanent substitute coinage in lieu of British authorized silver and/or copper. It is seldom remarked that the Council minute of 22 September 1813, which directed the cutting of dollars, also proposed the creation of an Island token coinage that would represent the local money of account and that would have its own rated value in relation to British sterling. Smith recommended that the British Government authorize the production of two silver-denomination and three copper-denomination coins especially for Prince Edward Island. Of course, nothing like this came to pass until the issue of the P.E.I. cent in 1871. Smith's long-term proposal, like his short-term expediency, reminds us that Prince Edward Island suffered the same currency crisis as all of the British colonies overseas.

While Governor Smith's action may have been unique to British North America, the precedent and the model for it were near to hand. On 7 November 1792, Edmund Fanning, the Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island at that time, addressed the General Assembly at Charlottetown to the following effect:

> The want of specie, or some circulating money in this Island to facilitate the intercourse of traffic or dealings among the inhabitants, is not only a vast obstacle to trade and a great discouragement to industry, but is also in a great degree the occasion of that embarrassment and heavy distress in which many individuals are, at this time, unhappily involved, although probably possessed of property sufficient to satisfy the demands of their creditors, and to extricate themselves and their families from impending ruin, did not the want of a currency in this Island render it impossible for them to convert their effects into money.

> In cases of somewhat similar public exigency, the Legislatures of some of His Majesty's West Indian Islands have introduced foreign coin among them, such as Spanish milled dollars, half, quarter, eighths and sixteenths of dollars, and had these stamped, at the public expence with the letters 'G.R.' on the face or dexter side, and a crown on the reverse or sinister side, which coin, when so stamped, has been by a law, to which the Royal Assent has been obtained, declared and made a legal tender in such Islands in all payments whatsoever (Graham 1988, 20).

Prior to 1792, the only instances of West Indies cut and/or counterstamped coins were to be found in Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, and possibly Montserrat, and the only dollars and their fractions that were stamped but not cut were those for Jamaica and possibly Montserrat. I think we have to take it, therefore, that Fanning is referring to Jamaica for his example, although his intelligence about the practice introduced there in 1758 is somewhat confused, both as to the specifics of the counterstamp and the legalities of the undertaking. The floriate GR counterstamp appears on both the obverse and the reverse of host coins, not simply on the obverse, and the practice certainly never received royal assent (Fig. 2). Fanning may have mis-remembered the obverse design on pillar dollars on which the crown surmounts the arms of Castile as a counterstamp. In any case, no comparable action for stamping Spanish-American coins was taken on behalf of P.E.I. at this time.

One other observation seems worth making in light of Fanning's address to the Island General Assembly. Edmund Fanning was the only Governor of Prince Edward Island before the middle of the nineteenth-century to have

Figure 2. Pillar dollar with GR counterstamp for Jamaica (HSA 1001.1.18156)

been a British North American by birth. Born in upper New York state in 1739, educated at Yale, he held various offices in North Carolina (where he was reputed to be "the best educated man in the province") (Bumsted 1983, 308), New York City (where he commanded a regiment of Loyalists during the Revolution), and then Nova Scotia, before being appointed to P.E.I. in 1786 (where one landowner thought him representative of "deep far fetched despicable Yankee cunning") (Bumsted 1983, 311). The point is that notwithstanding his ignorance of the details of the Jamaican experiment, Fanning was admirably situated, through upbringing, career, and travel, to have had first-hand experience of the general practice of cut and/or counterstamped money in the Americas.

On 8 December 1798, Lord Portland, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to Governor Fanning from Whitehall, advising him against pursuing any schemes he might have in mind for creating an emergency coinage for Prince Edward Island based on the West Indies model:

> As some measures have been taken lately in Martinique on the subject of the Coins Current there from which it appears that the intent of the directions for preventing the circulation of counterfeit Coin in our Colonies contained in my Circular Letter of May 26th, 1798, has not been correctly understood — I take this opportunity, in order to prevent any Errors, to inform you that no authority is given by the said Circular Letter to raise the nominal value of the Gold and Silver Coins in the Island of St. John, or to make any alteration in the relative value of the metals of which such Coins are made, since all that is expressed or intended by my said Letter is to authorize and direct you "to publish a Proclamation recommending to all Persons to weigh the Gold and Silver Coins current in the said Island, and to state in such Proclamation what weight the respective Coins should be, making such allowance for reasonable wear as you, with the advice of your Council, shall think right," — and I am to signify to you that no alterations, either in the nominal value of the Coins, or in the relative values of the Metals, ought at any time to be made by the Government of any of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations, without express authority from hence (Lord Portland 1973, 160).

The measure taken in Martinique under the first British administration (1793–1801) to which Portland refers was presumably the Proclamation by the Island's Governor General of 4 July 1798, which ordered that Portuguese joes be plugged and then stamped with goldsmiths' identifying

punches in order to restore them to their required weight (Pridmore 1965, 352). Lord Portland's admonition about tampering with current coin put an end to matters in P.E.I. for the next 15 years.

Did Governor Charles Douglass Smith find the paper trail of earlier schemes when he took up his post in 1813? On his way to Charlottetown did he confer with his predecessor and Fanning's successor, Joseph F. W. Des Barres, then in retirement in Nova Scotia? Des Barres, who had been appointed to his post in 1804, left P.E.I. in August 1812, and settled in Amherst, Nova Scotia, so it is possible they met (Morgan 1987, 192–196). Or were West Indies emergency currency practices so well known that Smith had made up his mind what he would do well in advance of his arrival? He certainly acted quickly once on the Island. Smith arrived in Halifax en route to his posting on 29 December 1812, but did not get to Charlottetown until 24 July 1813. (Remember that the Council authorized the Holey Dollar on 22 September.) By all reports, Smith was not a very imaginative man, and Phillip Buckner, his biographer in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* has this to say: "... it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he was a man of limited intelligence and slight ability who ought never to have been appointed" (Buckner 1985, 828). Smith had no experience of the British colonies in North America before his arrival. One should not discount the possibility that he saw cut money circulating in Halifax during his seven months' sojourn there, and that that observation provided the inspiration for his scheme on P.E.I. While we do not have all the answers with respect to the process, we do know that the result was the cut and counterstamped holey dollar and dump modelled upon a widespread practice in the West Indies.

We also know that notwithstanding the Island Government's redemption of its own issue up to 28 September 1814, counterfeit cut dollars and dumps circulated for at least another ten years and possibly beyond. In a letter of 19 August 1823, to Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, following an account of the measures he took to alleviate the currency problem by creating the holey dollar and its dump, and the recourse to their redemption in 1814 to deal with the counterfeiting problem, Smith added the following remark: "The forgers were thus left with mutilated dollars on their hands and they to escape loss entered into agreement amongst themselves to circulate the Cut Dollars (with the punched out part) for five shillings only, but

they were forbidden to be received at all at the Treasury and are gradually disappearing" (Smith 1823, 264). Not only was cut money circulating on P.E.I. ten years after the withdrawal of the holey dollar, in other words, but by 1823 it was still only "gradually disappearing."

Smith's note that cut dollars continued to circulate "with the punched out part" may seem a little puzzling. One possible meaning of his remark is that after 1814 dollars circulated with reinserted dumps in an attempt to restore a mutilated coin to its former value of five shillings currency. This seems unlikely, since once having been cut out, most dumps were going to be too small to fit in the hole their removal had created. A more likely possibility, however, is that when a dollar and dump were offered together as two coins in trade they were accepted at a value of five shillings, but that separately a holed dollar was valued at four shillings and the dump at a shilling. Near in time to the period in question as it is, the following note may have some authority: "In order to prevent the few remaining dollars from leaving the shores of the Island, a piece supposed to be equivalent to a shilling was cut from the centre of each dollar; and it was first attempted to pass the dollar thus mutilated at its original value of five shillings, and the piece taken out at one shilling, thus making the Spanish dollar equal to six shillings; but this was too ridiculous to be kept up for any length of time, and the holey dollar, as it was termed, passed for four shillings, and the excised piece as one shilling" (Triticeus 1841).

One other question arises from Smith's remark. If it was only "gradually disappearing" in 1823, how long exactly did cut money circulate on the Island? Cut money certainly circulated through 1824, as we will discover in a moment, and may have been tolerated as late as 1827, at which date Spanish-American dollars were revalued at 5s. 6d. currency (Graham 1988, 13). By 1833, their value had been overrated to a full 6s. currency, and from 1849 to 1871 their value was fixed at 6s. 3d. (Graham 1988, 16). (One wonders, were there still actual, circulating specimens in 1871?!) There is no question that the phenomenon of cut money was still fresh in the memory in 1841, when we get the first popular references to the practice.

II

The assumption has always been that this cut money was confined to the P.E.I. holey dollar and/or its merchants' counterfeits on host Spanish-

Figure 3. 1804 George III Bank of England dollar.

American 8 reales. However, there is the distinct (and exciting) possibility that the P.E.I. holey dollar was not the only pierced Spanish-American dollar—or even the only pierced coin—to circulate on the Island after 1813. A number of independent pieces of evidence support this conjecture.

For a start, we know that the 8 reales of the Spanish-American mints were not the only dollar-sized coins to serve as hosts for the P.E.I. dollar. Albeit that they seem to be contemporary merchants' counterfeits, two unusual host coins have been recorded, both with counterstamps. The first is an 1804 George III Bank of England dollar, once in the collection of L. A. Langstroth of Saint John, New Brunswick. Bank dollars were already rated at six shillings on the Island in 1813, so cutting and counterstamping this specimen in the expectation of profit must have been a wasted effort (Fig. 3). The other coin is an 1809 Madrid 20R of Joseph Napoleon that surfaced in 1968 (Fig. 4). Both of these coins are now in the Bank of Canada's National Currency Collection in Ottawa.

Figure 4. 1809 Joseph Napoleon Madrid 20 reales.

Figure 5. 1813 French 5 francs (ANS 0000.999.36801).

These two pieces merely begin to tantalize with the promiscuous range of material that evidently passed current on P.E.I. in those early years at the start of the nineteenth century. What, therefore, is one to make of the following? In an effort to clear his character in connection with a robbery at Sims' and Son store in Charlottetown on 28 July 1824, one Coun Douly Rankin, Jun., wrote a letter to the editor of the *P.E.I. Register,* on 14 August 1824, which reads in part:

> Mr. Bott of this town, having obtained judgement against me for a small sum, sent a note to me last Wednesday morning threatening that he would issue an execution against me, if I failed to make immediate payment; this note was received by my aunt at the Thistle Tavern, who opened it. I with difficulty borrowed of her 3s. 2d. (being a five franc piece cut, *as both she and I can swear*), and intended to pay to Mr. Bott, with some more that I expected to receive that day, and some hours after...when, having been disappointed in collecting more money, and fearing that Mr. Bott would issue execution, I again importuned my aunt for more money, and at that time, I put my hand into the pocket of my trowsers, and found a hole in it, and that I had lost the 3s. 2d. piece which my aunt had given me in the morning..." (Rankin 1824, 3).

And it appears that the coin remains lost to this day!

The Rankins were innkeepers in Charlottetown. Mary Rankin, Coun Douly Rankin's aunt, referred to in his letter, operated the Thistle Tavern, and a Henry Rankin a second establishment in the town. Coin of all kinds, the familiar and the strange, cut and otherwise, might be expected to have passed in their cash transactions. The letter does not state that the 5-franc

Figure 6. Bremner drawing of 1797 dollar.

piece had been pierced, but a whole 5-franc piece was rated at 4s. 2d. in 1824 (Fig. 5), so if the value of a shilling had been removed, as seems to have been the case, it could well have been holed as easily as clipped.

One other point needs to be made about this French 5-franc piece: we cannot know whether this coin was counterstamped. In his circular letter of 1823, from which I have quoted, Smith makes no mention of counterstamps on the cut dollars then "gradually disappearing" from circulation (although the omission of such a reference is actually not worth very much). However, I have no doubt that cut money with and without identifying countermarks was in circulation on P.E.I. at this time.

I think that Island historians knew that dollars circulated with and without counterstamps on P.E.I. In a local history written and published in Charlottetown in 1932, Benjamin Bremner illustrated a drawing of the obverse of a pierced dollar dated 1797 (Fig. 6). The legend is correct, even to the stops, and the profile of Charles IV is unmistakeable. No counterstamp has been drawn on the piece (Bremner 1932, 148). While I cannot prove that the drawing is based upon a cut coin that the author had seen, no P.E.I. holey dollar is known to me bearing the date 1797. What was the original for this drawing then? I submit that it could have been an actual coin without a counterstamp, for there is otherwise no good reason to illustrate this date rather than some other.

Further evidence may be provided by a reference in the section devoted to the holey dollars of P.E.I. in a "Notebook" on Canadian currency kept by the late Sheldon S. Carroll, first curator of the Bank of Canada collection.

Figure 7. 1805 Charles IV Madrid FA 8 reales.

The reference is dated August 1949 and it simply reads: "Col. Wetherby, Ottawa, has a specimen. It is not counterstamped" (Carroll 1949, n.p.). No other information is available, although I think we should infer that the coin was a Spanish-American eight reales and that the piercing was round, otherwise Carroll would not have recorded it. The positive identification of this Wetherby coin would be interesting, especially since I do not believe there were any twentieth-century attempts to forge dollars with an alleged Prince Edward Island provenance as early as 1949.

I would like to suggest that we revise our judgement of the provenance and claim to legitimacy of dollar-sized coins that have been centrally pierced but lack a counterstamp. Obviously, we should not rush to embrace such pieces without examining them very carefully and at first hand. A number have appeared in auction and sales literature about which we might be suspicious, but there are a few others that invite serious reflection. I do not necessarily wish to claim all such dollars for Prince Edward Island, but I do want to say that pierced dollars without counterstamps remain something of a mystery to be solved. Dollars with round piercings and without a counterstamp known to me at the present time include the following:

1. 8R 1805 Charles IV Madrid FA (Fig. 7)

Fred Bowman noted the existence of this coin in his multi-volume, unpublished *Encyclopedia of Canadian Coins, Tokens and Medals.* It was said to be in the numismatic collection of the Chateau de Ramezay in Montreal but has since disappeared. Bowman's is now the only record of this coin, although fortunately we do have a photograph. Bowman refers to both

Figure 8. 1798 Charles IV 8 reales (Caldecott dollar) (Wood 1914: fig. 26).

the coin and the cutting of it as a "fabrication." It lacks a counterstamp, which no doubt disqualified it in his mind from any claim to legitimacy.

2. 8R 1798 Charles IV (Fig. 8)

Also to be noted is this 1798 8 reales of Charles IV whose obverse is plated in J. B. Caldecott's article "The Spanish Dollar as Adapted for Currency in Our West Indian Colonies". Caldecott writes of this coin: "The next specimen is a dollar from which a plain circular piece has been punched; it is without countermark and at present unassigned" (Caldecott 1904, 294). Careful examination of the original plate of the coin seems to show a faint countermark above the king's forehead, although Caldecott asserts that "it is without countermark". One would expect the owner to be able to describe his own piece with accuracy! Unfortunately, it is not possible to verify whether it is with or without a countermark, because this coin has not resurfaced since it appeared as part of lot 483 in the sale of the Caldecott collection (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge 1912). No countermark was visible when Howland Wood plated the coin in 1914. Wood tentatively assigned the piece to St. Kitts, with the comment: "Although the records show an act was passed [in 1801] for stamping and cutting silver and copper coins, only the black dogs can definitely be assigned to this island.... Possibly the cut dollar uncounterstamped with the round hole 15 mm wide, may be the piece referred to in the records; as yet no plug has turned up to help in determining its identity" (Wood 1914, 96–97). Wayte Raymond later followed Wood's attribution (Raymond 1942, 16). I think

there are good reasons for claiming the Caldecott coin for Prince Edward Island. There is certainly no evidence that it is better off in St. Kitts.

3. 8R 1790 Charles IV Mexico FM

This piece is from Hans Schulman's sale of the Howard Gibbs collection, and appears as lot 1757F, for which the obverse only is plated. It is attributed by Schulman to St. Kitts, "with a 10 mm hole cut out of center. Smooth edge. No counterstamp. H.W. 26" (Schulman 1966). Clearly, this piece has been assigned to St. Kitts on the strength of Howland Wood's attribution of the Caldecott dollar. Schulman even gives this coin the figure no. (i.e. no. 26) for Wood's illustration of the Caldecott coin. The Caldecott dollar, however, is said by Wood to have an aperture of 15 mm whereas this coin has only a 10 mm hole.

4. 8R 1797 Charles IV Mexico

This piece is also from Schulman's sale of the Gibbs collection and is listed as lot 1757G, unplated. Also attributed to St. Kitts, it is said to have a "15 mm hole" (Schulman 1966). No doubt this piece has also been assigned to St. Kitts on the strength of Howland Wood's attribution of the Caldecott dollar. Both this and the Caldecott coin are said by Wood to have an aperture of 15 mm. Tempting as it may be, there is no evidence one way or the other that this Gibbs dollar is the 1797 piece illustrated by the Bremner drawing mentioned above.

5. 8R 1800 Charles IV Mexico FM

This coin appears as lot 1216, plated, in Jess Peters' sale of the Ray Byrne collection, where it is attributed to Haiti, ca. 1811, and said to be "very rare" (Peters 1975). There is no indication of either the diameter of the aperture or of the weight of the coin. The attribution to Haiti, however, suggests the possibility of an aperture of 10 mm.

6. Ecu 1778(I) Louis XVI France

Attributed by Hans Schulman to St. Kitts, with a "15 mm hole", from his sale of the Gibbs collection, where it is listed as lot 1757H and the obverse only is plated (Schulman 1966). Once again, this piece has no doubt been assigned to St. Kitts on the strength of Howland Wood's attribution of the Caldecott dollar. Both are said by Wood to have an aperture of 15 mm.

Figure 9. 1802 Charles IV Seville CN 8 reales.

7. 8R 1802 Charles IV Seville CN (Fig. 9)

This piece, which is in a private collection, was first mentioned by Ray Byrne in his article on "The World's 'Holey' Dollars" where, following Wood, he attributed it to St. Kitts (Byrne 1970, 341). It did not surface in Jess Peters' sale of the Byrne collection in 1975. It was sold as lot 1198 (plated) in Bank Leu's "Bostonian Sale" where the cataloguer encouraged its attribution to Haiti. Its weight (21.74 grams) and aperture (approx. 15 mm) would seem to disqualify the Haitian attribution, however. The coin is too heavy and the aperture too large. Importantly, the coin shows wear consistent with its having circulated after being pierced and it may therefore be considered a contemporary counterfeit: "...the cutting has none of the earmarks of a later invention or concoction and also shows signs of considerable wear *after* the coin was pierced" (Bank Leu 1990).

8. 20R 1810 Joseph Napoleon Madrid AI (Fig. 10)

The weight (21.16 grams) and aperture (15 mm approx.) of this coin are also available. It has recently come to light and is from a private collection. Unfortunately, it does not show incontrovertible evidence of having circulated after being holed.

9. 8R 1804 Charles IV Mexico TH (Fig. 11)

This is perhaps the most intriguing piece to come to light in recent years. It appeared at a TOREX auction in the fall of 1999, where it was plated as lot 586 (Jeffrey Hoare, 1999). The consignor, Thomas Rogers, an Islander and lifetime resident of Charlottetown, referred to this coin as

Figure 10. 1810 Joseph Napoleon Madrid AI 20 reales.

Figure 11. 1804 Charles IV Mexico TH 8 reales.

an "Unholy" dollar, probably because it both lacks a counterstamp and is rather crudely made. It is not known how he came by this piece, but it seems likely that it sat in his collection for many years and that it was acquired on the Island. The piece has been crudely holed from the obverse with a tool something like a cold chisel. A mis-hit with the tool has left a 3.75 mm long punch mark across the upper ribbon behind the king's head. The wall of the cut is extremely rough, as one might expect from trying to punch a circle through metal by such means. The wall around the circumference of the cut slants in toward the reverse, so that the aperture is actually narrower from the reverse face of the coin than the obverse. The coin shows wear consistent with its having been well circulated after being holed. It weighs 21.90 g and has an aperture of 15.8 to 17.25 mm. In short, I regard this piece as a contemporary counterfeit, not a recent forgery. At least two

observations suggest themselves. The first is that this counterfeit may have had as its model a contemporary dollar of some sort without counterstamp. Furthermore, if it is contemporary with the 1813–1824 period and did indeed circulate, this suggests that people were not especially fussy about a detail like a counterstamp and judged the negotiable value of the coin by whether or not it had a hole in it (and no doubt by its weight and fineness). If my hunch about this coin is right, it stands as prima facie evidence of why Governor Smith's scheme was doomed to failure.

Of the nine pieces listed above, one, the dollar of 1790, has too small an aperture at 10 mm to be assigned to Prince Edward Island. It might, however, be a candidate for attribution to Haiti, where pierced dollars without counterstamps are also known to have circulated but with a smaller aperture and therefore at a heavier weight. (See Carl Braun's article in this volume). The Byrne coin, dated 1800 and attributed to Haiti, presumably has an aperture of the order of 10 mm. Not enough is known about the specifications of one piece, the 1805 Madrid dollar, to be able to make any tentative attribution.

The remaining six coins all fall within an acceptable tolerance for diameter of aperture and/or weight that would allow them to be assigned to Prince Edward Island. This includes the last mentioned piece, the "Unholy" dollar of 1804. If, as I suggested above, this "Unholy" dollar had as its model a contemporary dollar of some sort without counterstamp, this could mean that there were Government-issue dollars or even merchants' counterfeits that were pierced as intended but lacked counterstamps because they were mistakenly not applied during the production process (not an unlikely consequence of the makeshift circumstances of production), or it could mean that there were merchants' counterfeits deliberately produced without a counterstamp because the addition of such a device was not absolutely necessary to effect the circulation of the coins. While I have no doubt that dollars without counterstamps did circulate in the 1813–1824 period in Prince Edward Island, without the opportunity to examine all of these pieces with care, it is not possible to be categorical about awarding all of them a legitimate provenance. Table 1 should be taken as speculative in this regard. For purposes of comparison, Tables 2 and 3, based on significant samples, provide data on weights and apertures of known P.E.I. holey dollars.

Table 1. Classification of Uncountermarked Dollars

	Weight	Aperture	P.E.I.	Haiti	Unknown
1805 8R	—	—	—	—	x
1798 8R	—	15 mm	x	—	—
1790 8R	—	10 mm	—	x	—
1797 8R	—	15 mm	x	—	—
1800 8R	—	—	—	x	—
1778 écu	—	15 mm	x	—	—
1802 8R	21.74 g	15 mm	x	—	—
1810 20R	21.16 g	15 mm	x	—	—
1804 8R	21.90 g	15.80–17.25 mm	x	—	—

Table 2. Weights of P.E.I. Holey Dollars

Lightest	21.26 g
Heaviest	22.34 g
Mean weight	21.846 g
Median weight	21.90 g

Based on a sample of 29 coins

III

My point about citing the existence of these imagined, probable, and real pierced dollars without counterstamps, whether Spanish-American or other foreign (i.e., non-British) coin, is to assert that the production of the P.E.I. holey dollar in 1813 opened the gates to the circulation of a wide variety of cut monies on the Island for upwards of the next fifteen years.

Among these cut monies we can now include coins of the West Indies. In the 1895 Scott sale of the Gerald Hart Collection, lot 153 is a 1793 Mexico 8 reales of Charles IV, "From centre of which an octagonal form

Table 3. Apertures of P.E.I. Holey Dollars

Narrowest aperture	15.00 mm
Median of sum of narrowest apertures	15.50 mm
Widest aperture	16.30 mm
Median of sum of widest apertures	15.85 mm

Based on a sample of 12 coins.

Figure 12. 1811 Trinidad dollar without counterstamp.

14 mlm. has been taken." The cataloguer, who was probably Lyman Low, goes on to say: "We know nothing of the history of this particular Necessity piece. Its general character is quite like others known to have been similarly treated for Guadeloupe and Dominica, and differs mainly in form of perforation for the piece extracted. This one is stated to have come from the Island and to be genuine, and we have no reason to doubt either" (The Scott Stamp & Coin Co. 1895, 12).

As we know now, and the cataloguer did not know then, dollars with octagonally pierced centers have been attributed to Trinidad where they were authorized at a value of 9 shillings by a Minute of the Island Council in 1811 (Fig. 12). I think we should accept the Hart dollar as an authentic cut dollar for Trinidad that saw circulation in P.E.I. contemporaneously with the holey dollar of 1813.

The cataloguer's ignorance of the Hart dollar's attribution is in its favour as an authentic piece. Had the cataloguer been familiar with Zay's *Histoire monétaire des colonies françaises*, he could there have found the coin attributed to Trinidad (Zay 1892, 235). Evidently he did not have a copy of Zay

or think to look there. The English language source most readily available to the cataloguer in 1895 was Atkins' *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*. Atkins lists and illustrates all of the other cut dollars for the West Indies, including a non-existent hexagonal cut dollar attributed to Tobago (Atkins 1889, 324), but not the octagonal dollar for Trinidad. That the cataloguer was having trouble with the attribution would seem to be supported by the pencilled word "Tobago" (possibly in Lyman Low's hand) in a copy of this catalogue now held in a private collection. No doubt he was relying on Atkins' fanciful attribution of a hexagonal dollar to Tobago. In other words, the cataloguer could easily have recognized, by way of the illustrations in Atkins, dollars "similarly treated for Guadeloupe and Dominica", as the lot description has it, but that differ "mainly in form of perforation", and without necessarily knowing "the history of this particular Necessity piece" (Scott 1895, 12). Under the circumstances, to want to assign the coin to P.E.I., especially if it came out of P.E.I. to the Montreal collector Gerald Hart, is understandable given the inadequate information available to the cataloguer in combination with the cataloguer's own uncertain knowledge.

Pridmore reports that the Trinidad dollar was "extensively forged at the time and due to the extreme simplicity of the cutting style, this pierced dollar type is a great favourite with the modern numismatic forger as well. It is the commonest cut dollar available to collectors and modern forgeries are abundant. In the writer's experience the ratio of modern copies is about 25 to 1 original" (Pridmore 1965, 223). The production of forgeries was of course made easier then as now by the fact that the originals do not bear a counterstamp. Remember that the octagonal center on Trinidad cut dollars shows plain, inward-slanting, cut edges. When I described, above, the recently discovered "Unholy" dollar of P.E.I. without counterstamp, I said that the wall around the circumference of the cut on that coin slants in toward the reverse, similar to the Trinidad coin, so that the aperture is narrower from the reverse face of the coin than the obverse. This begs a question. Does the slant of the cut on the "Unholy" dollar suggest an attempt on Prince Edward Island to counterfeit an octagonal slanted dollar from Trinidad? Such a hypothesis, while unproven, would suppose that cut dollars for Trinidad circulated in sufficient numbers on P.E.I. to be available as a model and to warrant such an action. They were evidently plentiful

Figure 13. 1798 Dominica dollar without counterstamp.

on Trinidad and continued in circulation there well beyond the 1820s, "until exhausted by normal usage" (Pridmore 1965, 221), and therefore had ample opportunity to find their way to P.E.I.

Why we might have reason to believe the word of the consignor or the cataloguer that the Hart dollar was genuinely of Prince Edward Island—even though it is not a P.E.I. holey dollar—can be supported by a second piece of evidence in favour of West Indies coins in P.E.I. In *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* for January 1890, a certain Jonathan Metcalf made the following claim about the holey dollar of Prince Edward Island: "This was for a long period a very popular coin, and was first cut about sixty-five years since. I have the first so made in my possession, having been cut out as an experiment, the shilling was scalloped, all the others were round" (Metcalf 1890, 98–99). If Metcalf's claim to ownership of a first, trial P.E.I. Holey Dollar is mistaken (and I think we should assume it is), then his reference to a shilling with a scalloped edge suggests that the dollar he actually held must also have had a scalloped edge around its central hole.

West Indies dollars with centrally pierced scalloped or crenated edges were only made for Dominica, without counterstamp, in 1798 (Fig. 13), for Tobago, without counterstamp, beginning in 1798 (Fig. 14), and for British Guiana, with counterstamp, after 1808 (Fig. 15). Pridmore, again, says of the two former examples that "modern copies are common" and alleges that such copies were made on the continent in the 1885–1910 period and later in the United States starting about 1955 (Pridmore 1965, 36, 163 and 53, 167). While there is a possibility, in other words, that Metcalf in 1890 was

Figure 14. 1798 Tobago dollar without counterstamp.

Figure 15. 1808 British Guiana dollar with counterstamp (ANS 1969.118.83)

in possession of a forged dollar, this must seem unlikely given the remoteness of Prince Edward Island in relation to the source of the forgeries and no evidence that Metcalf was an active collector in ongoing communication with other collectors or dealers. We have to conclude, I think, that the coin Metcalf owned was a pierced dollar of British Guiana, Dominica, or Tobago and that it found its way into his possession because, like the Hart dollar, it had actually circulated on Prince Edward Island sometime after 1813.

Further support for the argument that pierced West Indies dollars and cut monies of various descriptions circulated on P.E.I. alongside the Island's holey dollar may be found in a passing remark made by the chairman of the Montreal Board of Trade to the new Province of Canada's first "Select

Figure 16. 1811 Guadeloupe dollar.

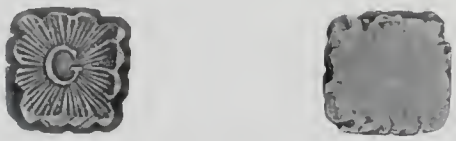

Figure 17. 1811 Guadeloupe cut bitt.

Committee on Banking and Currency" in 1841: "Experience has shown the extreme futility of the attempt often made to give a coin a fictitious value, so as to prevent exportation, – what is called protection. In Prince Edward Island, dollars have been clipped round and square, even holes have been made in them, and still called a dollar" (Brondgeest 1841). This remark was made a short 14 or 15 years after the P.E.I. holey dollar had probably disappeared from circulation. While we cannot take the remark quite literally, it is nevertheless highly suggestive. We cannot take the remark literally because clipping a dollar "square" is unlikely to facilitate its circulation. The remark is suggestive, however, because what I suspect the speaker means to say is that a consequence of punching holes in Spanish-American dollars is that one is left with round or square centres. One is left with round centres if the hole is round, as with the P.E.I. dollar; one is left with square centres, if the hole is square, as with dollars authorized for Guadeloupe by a proclamation of 1811 (Fig. 16). The speaker's remark implies, in other words, that not only did P.E.I. dollars and dumps circulate on the Island but so did cut dollars and bitts for Guadeloupe (Fig. 17)!

If we were to take all of the evidence together and attempt to summarize what may have circulated on Prince Edward Island between 1813 and

about 1827, we would arrive at the following mix: dollars of all the Spanish-American mints and pierced, dollar-sized coins for France and Spain; the cut and/or counterstamped coinage of Trinidad, of British Guiana, of Dominica or Tobago, and for Guadeloupe, including dollars and quite possibly bitts. In other words, this list would encompass all the pierced dollars for the West Indies except those for Haiti and St. Vincent. One might also point out that all of these cut dollars continued to circulate on their home islands well into the 1820s at the very least and were therefore available to find their way to P.E.I. Now, one wonders, what else may have circulated of which we are so far ignorant? For example, were United States dollars cut as well, inasmuch as they did have the same rating as Spanish-American dollars?

Obviously these varied monies of necessity found their way to P.E.I. in the course of trade. Direct trade as between P.E.I. and the islands of the West Indies was, however, rare. Shipping to and from the warm islands of the south went out of Halifax or St. John's, Newfoundland. From these ports, goods were off-loaded and then freighted to Charlottetown and elsewhere in the Maritimes of colonial Canada. Five or six ships a week docked at Charlottetown in the years after 1813 and into the early 1820s. If the pattern of circulation of shipping was indeed the pattern of circulation of specie, then we might have to consider that West Indies cut and counterstamped coins were tendered in the course of trade elsewhere in the Canadian Maritimes and along the eastern seaboard.

For the moment, however, and in conclusion, I think P.E.I. should simply be considered as the most northerly of His Majesty's Islands of the West Indies! (If only the climate would agree!) In addition to giving proper consideration in future to pierced dollars without counterstamps, therefore, Canadian collectors might want to add a selection of cut and counterstamped coins of the West Indies series to their cabinets.

Acknowledgments

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Tokens of Jewish Merchants of the Caribbean before 1920

Robert D. Leonard, Jr.

Coinage of the Americas Conference
at The American Numismatic Society, New York

December 4, 1999

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While it has been claimed that the islands of the Caribbean were discovered by Jews, both Christopher Columbus and the sailor Rodrigo de Triana being said on slender authority to have been of Jewish descent (Amler 1991), very few Jews arrived for over 150 years because of the Spanish Inquisition. The day before Columbus sailed for the Indies on 3 August 1492, the Jews were expelled from Spain. Many of those banished went to Portugal. But their respite there was short, as Manuel II of Portugal copied the Spanish expulsion order less than five years later, then replaced it on 19 March 1497 with forced conversion. Many if not most of these *Conversos,* as they were called, continued to practice Judaism in secret and lived in constant terror of the Inquisition. After the Pacification of Ghent, 4 November 1576, a refuge opened up for them in the Netherlands (Fig. 1). By 1590 Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal had arrived there and resumed practicing their faith, and in 1602 the first Day of Atonement services were held in Amsterdam (Joods Historisch Museum 1988, 47). With the full approval of the burgomasters, a Sephardic congregation was established, and by the end of the seventeenth century about 10,000 Jews lived there.

Figure 1. Emigration of conversos from Portugal, 1593–1700.

In Portugal, however, the *Conversos* were receiving special attention from the Holy Office, with many cruelly tortured and burned at the stake. Though some were able to escape, it was not until 1601–02, when King Philip II received 200,000 ducats from the Portuguese *Conversos,* that they were legally allowed to leave the country (Beinart 1992, 98). There was a further exodus in 1621 when another fever of the Inquisition occurred, and others continued to slip out throughout the seventeenth century. Many converged on Amsterdam, though others settled in London after Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam's successful petition to Oliver Cromwell in 1655.

During the unrest of the Thirty Years' War Ashkenazic Jews began to arrive in Amsterdam from Germany (Fig. 2); the oldest documents of the congregation there date to 1640 (Joods Historisch Museum 1988, 27). Their number was augmented by a flood of refuges from the fiendish Cossack massacres in Poland in 1648 and 1649. Another wave followed the Swedish invasion of White Russia and Lithuania in 1654, and continued for many years thereafter. Substantial numbers of these Ashkenazic Jews continued on to London.

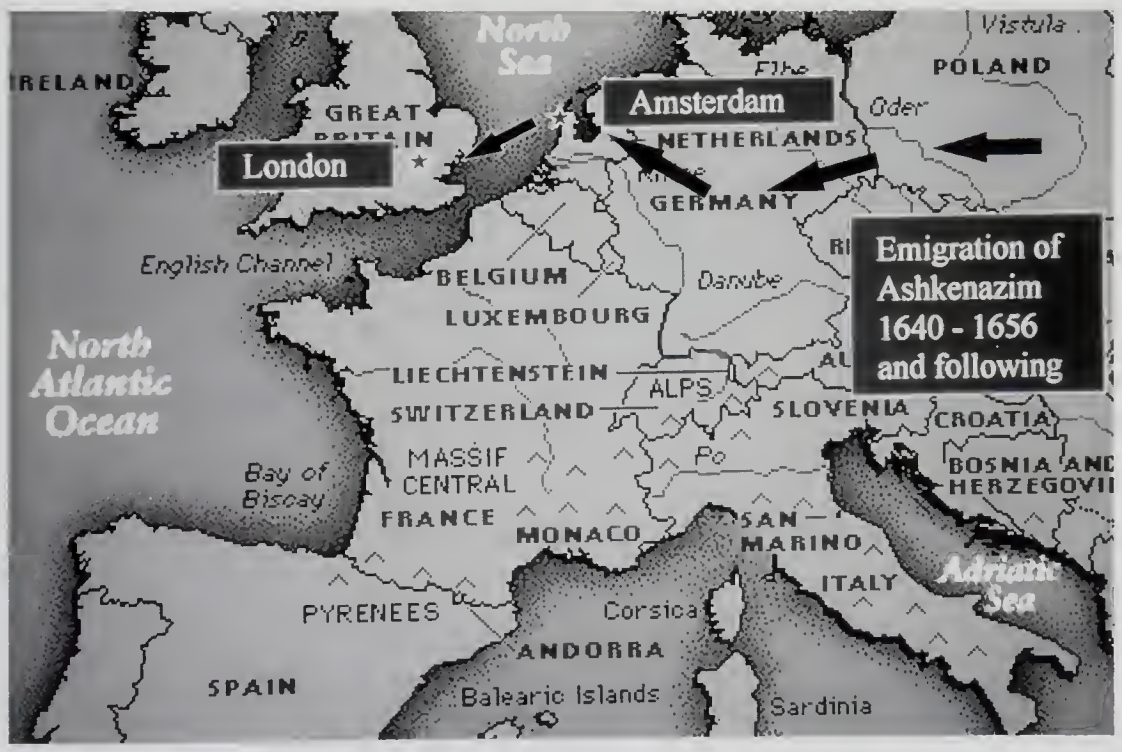

Figure 2. Emigration of Ashkenazim, 1640–1656 and following.

Figure 3. Jewish refugees go to West Indies, 1654.

In 1624 the Dutch conquered the coast of Brazil from Portugal, with many Amsterdam Jews supporting the Dutch army. Recife, captured in 1631, became the first Jewish community on American soil. However, in 1654 the Portuguese evicted the Dutch, and the Jews were forced to leave at once. Most returned to Holland, but some went to the Dutch colonies in the Caribbean (Beinart 1992, 101) (Fig. 3). Other Sephardic Jews came directly to the West Indies from Amsterdam, beginning in the mid-seventeenth century and continuing to the end of the eighteenth.

The emigration of Ashkenazic Jews to the Caribbean occurred about a century later, chiefly from London, and lasted roughly a hundred years (Dimont 1962, 293–294; Congregation B.V.S. etc.; DeLisser 1970?) (Fig. 4).

As their prosperity and population increased, Jewish entrepreneurs spread throughout the Caribbean. Of the token issuers discussed in this paper, some moved from Curaçao to St. Thomas and Caracas, and from St. Thomas to Panama in the nineteenth century (Fig. 5).

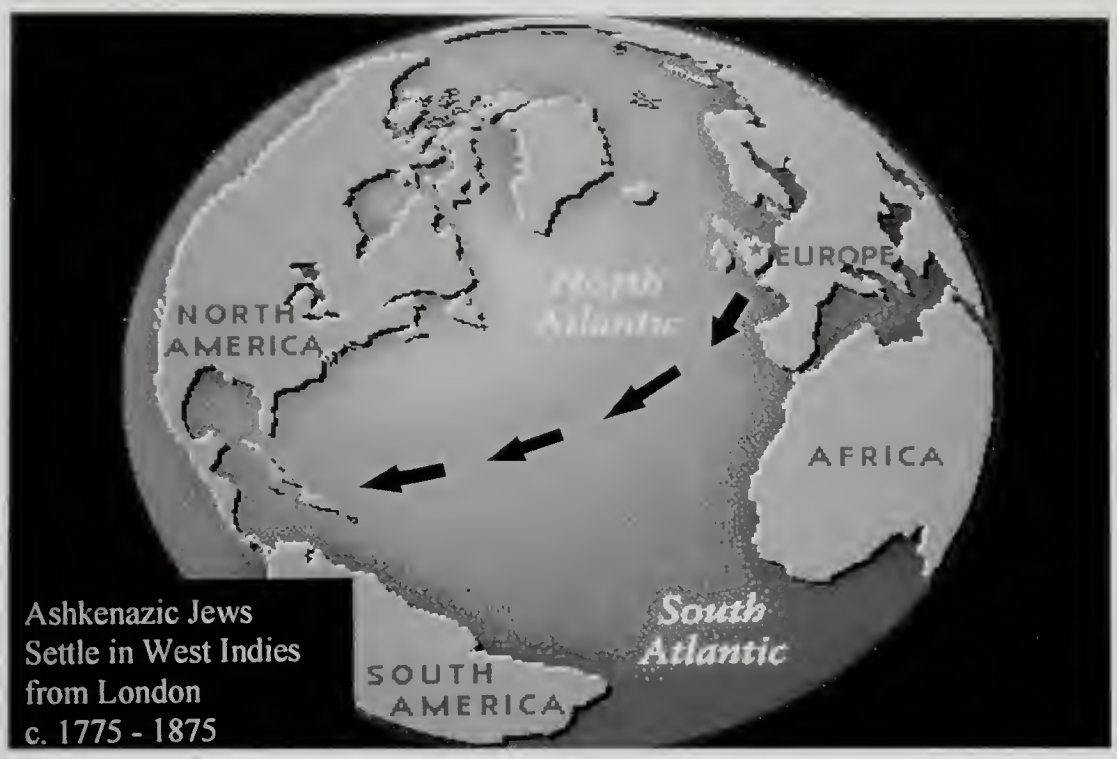

Figure 4. Ashkenazic Jews settle in West Indies from London, c. 1775–1875.

Figure 5. Some Jewish moves within Caribbean area, c. 1840–1885.

Over time, Jews acquired a major role in the commerce and even the government of some of the West Indies islands. As of 1862, about 45% of all private wealth in Curaçao belonged to Jews (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 364), some of whom were extremely wealthy and able to provide their daughters with large dowries. In 1894, the number of Jewish merchants and plantation owners on Curaçao about equaled the number of Christian owners. In the same year it was estimated there that "the Jew...was three and one-half times richer than the Protestant and sixty-eight times richer than the Catholic" (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 364). In St. Thomas, nearly half the white residents in 1850 were Jewish (Postal and Koppman 1974, 322). And, in 1866, 28% of the members of the Jamaican House of Assembly were Jewish (Andrade 1941, 30). On Barbados, however, the Jewish community was less successful, living chiefly on a single street in Bridgetown.

Figure 6. Jacob Abraham Jesurun (courtesy of the American Jewish Archives).

Curaçao

Curaçao was among the earliest of the Caribbean islands to be settled by Portuguese Jews. In 1659, twelve pioneer families arrived from Amsterdam (Emmanuel 1957, 161, 163, 188). Among them were members of the Jesurun family: Jacob Jesurun, born in Lisbon in 1634 (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 914), and Moseh Haim Jesurun, born about 1640. They sired a numerous family, which by the mid-nineteenth century had become very prosperous. Jacob Abraham Jesurun (Fig. 6), who extended his wharf in 1843 and again in 1845 to accommodate ocean-going vessels, and whose firm, Jesurun & Co., maintained a large coal depot in 1874 to refuel ships, also owned a dockyard capable of repairing up to ten ships at a time (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 467). In 1862 he was one of the two richest Jews in Curaçao, sharing the top *finta* (an assessment set by the community Council of Elders to cover its budget gap) with a wealthy widow (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 363).

In 1672 Moses Levy Maduro, age 23, sailed for Curaçao from Amsterdam (Krafft 1951, 105; Emannuel 1957, 210). Two years later he became *hazan* (cantor) of the congregation, and also held other religious offices. Though a later arrival, he was of very distinguished ancient lineage—he traced his descent to Samuel Levi (1320–1360), Treasurer of King Pedro the Cruel of Aragon (who rewarded Samuel by executing him!). In 1492, various branches of the Maduro family came to Portugal, where Antonio Roiz o Maduro d'Alcunha—baptized a Christian—was burned at the stake in 1616 for secretly "observing the Law of Moses" (Krafft 1951, 101–102). His widow and daughter Clara fled to Amsterdam where Clara changed her name to Rachel and married Moses Levy, descendant of Samuel Levi, in 1619. Since that time the family has styled itself Levy Maduro.

The Levy Maduro family prospered greatly in Curaçao. Salomon Elias Levy Maduro (1814–1883) (Fig. 7), who was tenth in descent from Antonio Roiz o Maduro, opened a shop in Willemstad on 24 January 1837, to transact retail and wholesale business. From this humble beginning, Levy Maduro soon had a fleet of four ships trading with New York. In 1860 he joined four other local merchants in a successful landfill proposal, and by 1862 made the list of the eighteen richest Jews on the island, though he was tied for last (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 363–364). From 1865 to

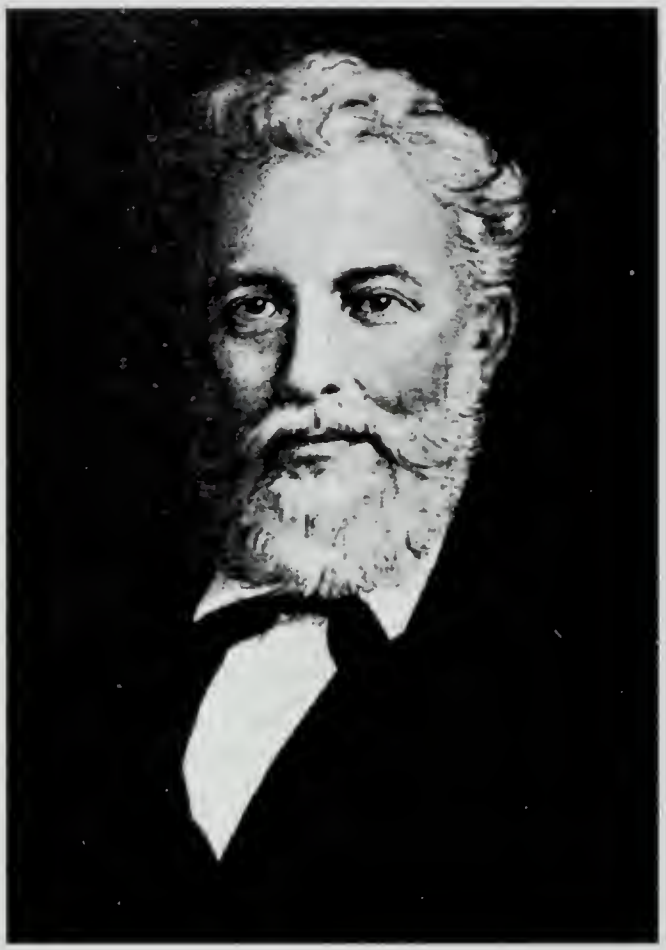

Figure 7. Salomon Elias Levy Maduro (courtesy of the American Jewish Archives).

1870 he was corresponding member to the High Commission for Israelite Affairs in Holland, and as such "was the most powerful Jew in the community" (Emmanuel 1957, 335–336). He took his two eldest sons into partnership in 1874 with the style of S. E. L. Maduro & Sons. In 1901, after his death, the company obtained its first wharf (Hartog 1962, 145–146; S. E. L. Maduro & Sons 1998) and soon became the port's principal coal supplier, as the Maduros developed vast storage facilities plus a reputation for the fastest delivery. Still in business, S. E. L. Maduro and Sons today is in the shipping, ship refueling, construction, and travel agency business, and has its own web site.

George John Lionel Maduro, great-grandson of Salomon Elias Levy Maduro, was a reserve cavalry lieutenant in the Second World War who died at the Dachau concentration camp 9 February 1945. He was post-

Figure 8. Model of George Maduro's birthplace in Curaçao.

humously made a knight in the Military Order of King William for his heroism. To honor his memory, his parents built Madurodam, a miniature city in The Hague with model buildings from all over Holland and working scale models of trains and ships, as a living memorial. All profits are used to support the Dutch Student Sanitarium. The first stop on the Madurodam tour is a model of George Maduro's birthplace in Curaçao (Fig. 8).

Late in 1675 or early in 1676 another pioneer arrived in Curaçao, Yahacob (or Jacob) Naar, born in Amsterdam about 1650 (Emmanuel 1957, 174–175). Members of the Naar ("river" in Hebrew) family traced their descent to ancestors who lived 23 leagues from Lisbon prior to 1496, and in Castile before 1492 (Anonymous n.d. [c. 1910?]). Jacob was the great-grandson of Abraham Naar, who was a prominent member of the Amsterdam Jewish community from 1601 to 1630.

Curaçao was good to Jacob and his descendants. His great-great-grandson, also named Jacob, opened a snuff factory in 1812. His "Shon Cobus" (for Jacobus) snuff, made by a secret process, was Curaçao's favorite brand

Figure 9. Jesurun & Co. token (ANS 1940.21.2)

Figure 10. Jacob Jeosuah Naar token (ANS 1913.130.210).

and was exported to Holland. Manufacturing passed from father to son, and the factory was described in 1892 as a "gold mine", the profits assuring "the carefree and abundant existence...of several families" (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 470). Jacob Jeosuah Naar, grandson of Jacob Naar, owned several plantations and other investments in addition to running the snuff factory, and he was tied with Salomon Elias Levy Maduro for the final place on the list of the eighteen richest Jews (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 363–364).

Around the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Curaçao experienced a shortage of small coins. The government tried to remedy the situation by authorizing three firms, Jesurun & Company (Fig. 9), Leyba & Co., and Jacob Jeosuah Naar (Fig. 10) to mint small German-silver tokens. Two of these three companies were Jewish, as we have seen. Though contemporary documentation apparently describes them as worth two and one-half cents of the florin (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 475), they are all marked one stuiver (from the identical reverse die) or five cents. Perhaps a decision to circulate them as half stuivers was made after the order had been placed.

While Rulau, following Scholten, dates their issue to 1880, the Jesurun & Co. and J.J. Naar tokens were in fact issued in 1874 (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 475–476). Jesurun & Co.'s tokens were redeemed in November 1875 and Naar's the following month. The Jesurun & Co. tokens are marked simply J x Co and Naar's with only his initials, J.J.N. Though

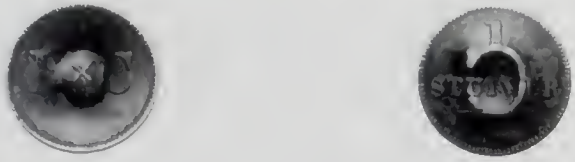

Figure 11. S. E. L. Maduro & Sons coaling token (ANS 1951.54.308).

Rulau lists several varieties in lead and brass on the authority of Ray Byrne, it would appear that the only original tokens of this issue are Scholten 1408 (Rulau Cur 5) and 1409 (Rulau Cur 13).

Contemporary records mention that shortly afterward, in January 1876, Jacob Jeosuah Naar put in circulation a coin worth one cent of the florin "to avoid forgery." (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 476). It was recalled in 1885. No such piece is found in Rulau or Byrne. There are two possible explanations: 1) it is a maverick even more obscure than the J.J.N. token, perhaps with no inscription and thus attributed to somewhere else; or 2) the Emmanuels misunderstood their sources and the reference is to recirculation of the existing Naar tokens at a reduced value. At the moment I believe that the latter explanation is correct, as it would explain the reference to forgery.

S. E. L. Maduro & Sons did not participate in this issue, but circulated paper notes of low value in 1893, which were recalled in 1901. They did, however, recycle the earlier tokens for use in their coaling business by counterstamping all three issues with a C (for coal?) (Fig. 11). Coal was then loaded on ships by hand, one basket at a time. Each laborer would be given a token as he returned from the ship with his empty basket; they were redeemed later. These counterstamped tokens would have been issued from 1901 until about 1920. They are listed as Scholten 1408b (Rulau Cur 16), 1409b (Rulau Cur 17), and 1410b (Rulau Cur 18). Rulau Cur 19 is based on a misunderstanding and does not exist.

St. Thomas

St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands also had its share of Jewish merchants. The permanent Jewish community arose following British Admiral Rodney's raid on nearby St. Eustatius in 1781 because the residents were supplying

arms to the rebellious Americans; the Jewish merchants and shippers then fled to St. Thomas and St. Croix (Postal and Koppman 1979, 321–322). Among them were many Sephardic Jews originally from Curaçao.

Ishac Shalom Delvalle of Penhorada came to Amsterdam toward the end of the seventeenth century. His sons married there, and several of his grandsons emigrated to Curaçao in 1788 (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 881–883). Benjamin Shalom Delvalle, his great-great-grandson, moved to St. Thomas in the mid-1830s. Jacob de Castro de Benjamin Delvalle (1840–1920) (Fig. 12), son of Benjamin Shalom Delvalle, founded a company in 1867 and extended his operations in 1870. Jacob Benjamin Delvalle, as he was also known, was very active in his synagogue—Congregation Beraka v'Shalom & Gmilut Hassadim, Blessing and Peace and Acts of Piety—serving as treasurer in 1875 and 1883 and president in 1876 and again in 1890–91 (Congregation Blessing and Peace and Acts of Piety 1863–91). After retiring from business in St. Thomas, Delvalle became Danish Consul to Curaçao (Sømod 1980, 71).

Figure 12. Jacob de Castro de Benjamin Delvalle (courtesy of the American Jewish Archives).

Max Shalom Delvalle, the first Jewish President of Panama, was the first cousin twice removed of Jacob Benjamin Delvalle, and Eric Arturo Delvalle, President of Panama 1987–88, is his first cousin three times removed. The Panamanian Delvalles are also the great-grandson and great-great-grandson, respectively, of Salomon Elias Levy Maduro (Krafft 1951, 111–116).

Another token-issuing St. Thomas merchant of this period was Robert Senior of R. Senior et Co., born on Curaçao. I found no trace of him in the Jewish records of either St. Thomas or Curaçao, but Senior is an old Sephardic family of Spanish-Portuguese origin which settled in Amsterdam as early as 1598. The branch that came to Curaçao in the mid-seventeenth century is descended from Juda Senior, born 1588 (Emmanuel 1957, 301–307). Published Curaçao records are not complete for the time Robert Senior would have been born, so his absence is not surprising.

Other likely Jewish token issuers are Ricardo Doloris Senior, born in Puerto Plata, Haiti, and David Gomez Fonseca, born on Tortola. Fonseca is another old Sephardic name, as is Gomez. Since I could not connect these persons more closely with known Jewish families, they are omitted.

In the nineteenth century Mexico was on the silver standard, while the Danish West Indies were on the gold standard. With the flood of newly mined silver coming on the market from the Comstock Lode in the late 1880s, the value of the Mexican peso depreciated to only 83 cents in gold. When a customer entered a store in St. Thomas and made a small purchase, tendering a Mexican peso, the value of his change in gold standard money might exceed the exchange value of his peso! To avoid this loss, a token coinage was issued by most of the St. Thomas merchants, good for a fraction of a Mexican peso. When payment was made in coin of a gold-standard country or the regular island currency, change was made in kind; but when a Mexican peso was presented, change was given in the form of these tokens (Higgie 1962, 30).

Delvalle & Co. issued a set of three German silver tokens of this type: 1 cent, Sømod 100, Higgie 411, Rulau Vrg 14; 3 cents, Sømod 99, Higgie 412; and 5 cents, Sømod 98, Higgie 414 (Fig. 13). Higgie 413 and 415, described as having blank reverses instead of obverse and reverse the same, were listed by Higgie on the strength of the description in the Rosholm sale catalog, probably an error (Sømod 1980, 74). No specimens have been traced in any collection. The 1 cent and 5 cent tokens were ordered

Figure 13. Delvalle & Co. tokens (ANS collection).

Figure 14. R. Senior tokens (ANS collection).

from Ralph Heaton and Sons Ltd., Birmingham, on 4 December 1889, in amounts of 10,000 of each of the two denominations (R. Lyall, pers. comm., 1999); no order for the 3 cent token has been located, but it must have been issued about this time, as the complete set was offered by Scott Stamp & Coin Co. in New York in February 1892 (J. Sømod, pers. comm., 4–5 November 1999).

R. Senior et Co. made do with just two tokens, a 1 cent in copper, Sømod 105, Higgie 454, Rulau Vrg 74; and a 5 cents German silver, Sømod 104, Higgie 455, Rulau Vrg 73 (Fig. 14). These tokens are thought to have been made in France in 1889 (J. Sømod, pers. comm., 4–5 November 1999).

JAMAICA

Another early refuge of Sephardic Jews was Jamaica. When the island was conquered by England in 1655, a considerable number of Jewish inhabitants—known as "Portugals" from their pretended conversion to Catholicism—were found there. In 1663, six Jews arrived directly from

Figure 15. Silvera 3 pence token (Lyall 158).

England, and later in the decade others emigrated from Dutch colonies in South America (Andrade 1941, 1–2). Moses Silvera arrived not long afterwards and was naturalized as a citizen of Jamaica on 4 February 1684/5 (Andrade 1941, 137). Members of the Silvera family were living in Portugal about 1675.

A descendent of this family was Captain George Silvera, one of whose 22 children was Leopold George Silvera (c. 1864–1916; Lyall 1988, 59–60). 2nd Lieut. Leopold George Silvera, son of Leopold George Silvera, served in His Majesty's forces during the First World War.

Leopold George Silvera was a successful shopkeeper at Idlewild, selling dry goods, hardware, foodstuffs, and cultivating tools, when he got the itch to become a planter. In 1896 he bought the 1500-acre-plus New Ramble Estate. When building his house there in 1903, he had timber cut and hauled over from seven miles away. This building was still standing in 1982.

To pay his estate employees Silvera issued tokens with values of 3 pence, 6 pence, 1 shilling, and 2 shillings 6 pence, although only the copper 3 pence token, Lyall 158, Rulau Jam 100 (Fig. 15), is known today. These tokens were illegal under the 1883 Token Prohibition Law, which Silvera would have been expected to have heard of since he was a justice of the peace in 1901. Though Rulau dates these to 1901, this is probably based on a misreading of Lyall's book; the tokens were most likely used throughout the period 1896 to about 1916 or even later.

A slightly later arrival in Jamaica was the Brandon family. According to a family tradition, its members are descended from a Portuguese Jew who came in 1710 (Lyall 1988, 65; R. Lyall, pers. comm., 1999). While this cannot be conclusively confirmed, it is likely, as Jacob and Isaac Pereira Brandon, probably brothers, seem to have been in Jamaica about then

Figure 16. George Brandon token (ANS 1940.99.4).

(Barnett and Wright 1997, 19, 31). In fact, Jacob Brandon died in Jamaica 7 January 1711. One scion of this family was George Brandon (1823–1872), the son of Menasseh Brandon (not David Brandon, as given in Lyall), who kept a general store (DeLisser 1971?, 97; Lyall 1988, 65). He was a member of the Sephardic congregation Kaal Kadosh Shahar Ashamaim, Holy Congregation Gate of Heaven.

George Brandon issued a German silver store card some time in the period from 1850 to 1872, probably for small change use. It is listed as Lyall 164, Rulau Jam 10 (Fig. 16).

Ashkenazic Jews began to settle in Jamaica about 1775. Among these immigrants was Solomon Levy, who was probably born in the 1760s (DeLisser 1970?, 33). His grandson, Edmund Levy, born in 1836, was one of two Trustees of the English and German Congregation of Kingston, Kahal Kodosh Shaangare Yosher, Holy Congregation Gates of Righteousness, on 28 February 1871, in purchasing land for a cemetery (Andrade 1941, 258). In 1878 he was the collector for the Kingston & Liguanea Water Works, which supplied piped water to the area named. The company had been owned by the Jamaican Government since 1 January 1871.

The Kingston & Liguanea Water Works issued a large brass token naming E. Levy as collector (Fig. 17). Though dated "Founded 1848", it cannot have been issued so early as this, as Edmund Levy was only 12 years old then; circa 1878 is more likely. This token, Lyall 194 and Rulau Jam 27, has the denomination of eight pails of water and the value of 1½ pence—a "quattie" (Pridmore 1965, 93).

Another Ashkenazic family was the Mordecais, who came early in the nineteenth century. Mark Mordecai registered nine children in the records of Kahal Kodosh Shaangare Yosher, Kingston, between 3 September 1812 and 4 October 1824, and a tenth, Ainsley, was apparently born off the island and not recorded (DeLisser 1970?, 39, 71; Ashkenazic Congrega-

Figure 17. Kingston & Liguanea Water Works token (Lyall 194).

tion 1846). Ainsley Mordecai had a son, Ivanhoe Joseph Mordecai, born 17 January 1855 (DeLisser 1970?, 36) (Fig. 18). About 1880, he founded I. J. Mordecai & Co. on Main Street in Morant Bay (Lyall 1988, 57). The business dealt in dry goods, hardware, and groceries until about 1915, when Mr. Mordecai retired. Ivanhoe Mordecai also owned the Stanton Estate (which issued tokens after 1940) and was the Senior Resident Justice of the Peace for the Parish of St. Thomas in 1916 and a member of the Parochial Board.

Figure 18. Ivanhoe Joseph Mordecai.

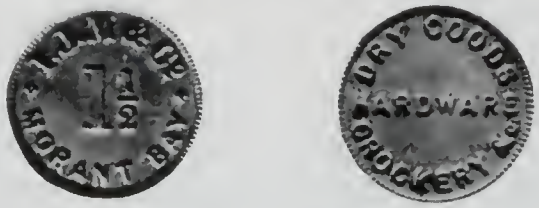

Figure 19. I. J. Mordecai & Co. token (Lyall 156).

I. J. Mordecai & Co. issued a copper-nickel 1½ pence or "quattie" token for use in the general store (Fig. 19). It was minted at Ralph Heaton and Sons Ltd., Birmingham. There were two orders: one on 26 July 1880, and a second, for 5,000 tokens, in January/February 1882 (Lyall 1988, 57). These tokens were presumably withdrawn after they were forbidden by Law 2 of 1883, passed on 12 April 1883. The Mordecai token is listed as Lyall 156, Rulau Jam 95.

BARBADOS

Jews, primarily of Portuguese origin, first came to Barbados soon after the English settlement of the island in 1627. An Order of the Council of Barbados of January 1655 gave "Jews and Hebrews...the privileges of Laws and Statutes of the Commonwealth of England and of this Island, relating to foreigners and strangers" (Shilstone 1956, xvii). [This is a wonderful example of the seventeenth-century English practice of saying everything of a legal nature twice!] After a time, though, they faced discrimination, which was actually legalized in 1684. It was not until 1786 that these discriminatory statutes were repealed (Davis n.d., 135). Perhaps as a result of this discouragement, the Jewish population on Barbados was never large; the entire community resided in Bridgetown, chiefly on Swan Street and Magazine Lane. Swan Street was referred to as Jew Street down to the twentieth century. However, after 1786, the community became prosperous through the resale of linen, cotton goods, hardware, pottery, and bullion, mainly out of London.

But then a series of reverses began. The great hurricane of 1831 caused extensive property loss, the synagogue itself being destroyed. Though rebuilt, only about 93 Jews attended the ceremony of rededication (Shilstone 1956, xvi). Farther away, the completion of the canal system in central England led to the rise of Liverpool as a manufacturing and exporting

Figure 20. Moses Tolano farthing token (ANS 1913.130.54).

center. The Jews of Barbados, supplied from London, in succession lost their trade in linen, cotton goods, hardware, and pottery—and eventually even bullion—as the government began to pay the garrisons abundantly with full-weight coins. With the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, the Barbados economy contracted further. A Jewish exodus began: by 1848, their numbers had dropped to 71; by 1900, to less than 20; and in 1928, the last remaining male Jew on Barbados sold the synagogue and its cemetery to a Bridgetown solicitor (Shilstone 1956, xviii–xix, xxi–xxii).

In the fall or winter of 1811, the future Barbados merchant Moses Tolano was born. His place of birth—indeed, his surname itself—have not been traced. Possibly Tolano is a shortening of Toledano, a well-known Sephardic name meaning resident of Toledo, Spain. To judge by his tokens, he followed the calling of the other Jews on Barbados, importing goods from London in bales and casks to sell at his shop at 33 Swan Street. (The cask is marked with Moses Tolano's initials "MT", which Eric P. Newman thinks is a pun! If so, then we know one more thing about him—that he had a sense of humor. But the bale is marked "MT" also.) From their inscription "Freedom Without Slavery", his tokens were probably issued around the time of the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, when Moses Tolano was turning 23. Both light-weight and heavy halfpence tokens are known, which may indicate a reorder, and the tokens exist with deep oblong punch marks, probably to cancel their use as currency. I would thus date them from the period from 1834 to 1840. Moses Tolano was buried 30 May 1850 (12 Sevan 5610), at the early age of 38½ years (Shilstone 1956, 178 [correcting "1852" to 1850]).

His tokens consist of copper farthings and halfpence. The farthings are listed as Lyall 95, Rulau Bbs 12 (Fig. 20), and the heavy halfpenny,

Figure 21. Moses Tolano halfpenny token (ANS 1914.153.20).

weighing 9.32 g, as Lyall 93, Rulau Bbs 10 (Fig. 21). The lighter halfpenny, weighing 7.75 g, is not given a separate number by Lyall but is Rulau Bbs 11. The farthing cancelled with an oblong punch is Lyall 96 and the cancelled halfpenny is Lyall 94; neither is given a separate number by Rulau. On all of them his name is misspelled "Tolanto".

VENEZUELA

Among the Jewish entrepreneurs who spread throughout the Caribbean in the nineteenth century was Dr. Anjel Jacobo Jesurun (1824–1893) (Fig. 22), a third cousin of Jacob Abraham Jesurun of Jesurun & Co. (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 914–918). Born in Curaçao, Anjel Jacobo Jesurun emigrated to Venezuela, and in 1843—when he was just 19 years old—he proposed a plan to rebuild a portion of midtown Caracas to accommodate an area to be known as La Esquina de El Silencio (the Corner of the Silence) (Rulau 1997, 27). He interested influential citizens of Caracas in his bold plan, and it was eventually included in a master plan for the city center. No action being forthcoming, he went back to Curaçao in 1845 with a plan to administer the port. This not being accepted either, the restless entrepreneur turned to scholarship, composing a treatise on religion and morals in 1845 and publishing a map of Venezuelan nationalities the following year. He then entered the Central University of Venezuela, taking his B.S. in political science, masters in political science, and finally a doctorate in political science—all in the same year, 1849!

Dr. Jesurun became interested again in the port of Curaçao due to the prodigious commercial and building activity there, and rented Mrs. Mattey's wharf in 1861 (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, 467). Back in

Figure 22. Anjel J. Jesurun (courtesy of the American Jewish Archives).

Venezuela in 1863, he co-founded the Israelite Alliance and was a member of its first Council of Directors (Rulau 1997, 27). The Venezuelan government appointed him Consul to Panama in 1890.

Then a remarkable thing happened: the grand proposal for Caracas that he had made as a teenager was approved! But now it was 1891, and he was 67 years old. Undaunted, he formed Concesión Jesurun and began construction. To pay his workers he issued a set of octagonal brass tokens, in denominations of 1 real, 1 bolivar, ½ peso, and 1 peso, probably representing a sequence of ½ bolivar (1 real), 1 bolivar, 2½ bolivars (½ peso), and 5 bolivars (1 peso). These tokens are listed in the first edition of Rulau as Ven 31, 30, and 29 and in the second edition as DF A37, DF 37, and DF 36; the ½ peso is not listed, but a specimen is in the ANS collection (Fig. 23). They were all presumably issued in or soon after 1891. Dr. Jesurun died in Caracas 6 October 1893, aged 69.

Figure 23. Concesión Jesurun tokens (ANS 1968.207.258–260).

San Andrés

One of the least known Caribbean islands is San Andrés. A mere speck off the coast of Nicaragua, it was neglected during most of the nineteenth century. Today, of course, it is a free port and a tourist attraction with a big population, resorts, sailing, skin diving, and casinos. But for a few years around the turn of the century it had a virtual king who issued his own money!

Isaac E. Rubinstein, an American Jew, was sailing his ship from the United States to Panama some time in the last years of the nineteenth century when he was obliged to anchor in San Andrés for repairs (Arbell 1997, 18). He was surprised to find the island inhabited by former African slaves, 200 to 300 of them. They were emaciated and desperate. A legend claimed that they had been brought there by the pirate Henry Morgan, who had made San Andrés his base. After Morgan was appointed Deputy Governor of Jamaica, he simply left and abandoned his slaves to their fate. In reality, though their ancestors did arrive in the seventeenth century, the natives had been the slaves of English Puritans and Jamaican

Figure 24. Isaac Rubinstein token (ANS 1934.1.780).

woodcutters. Despite a century or so of Spanish rule, they preserved the English language.

When Isaac Rubinstein saw the palm trees, the navigable bays, and the fresh water, he decided to stay and set up a copra producing plant. Copra was very valuable then, and the plant brought prosperity to the island. Soon San Andrés virtually belonged to him and assumed the name "The Island of Rubinstein". To avoid loss of production on Sunday, Rubinstein imported a Seventh-Day Adventist minister and built an Adventist church so that both Christians and Jews could keep the same Sabbath. However, his efforts were not totally successful, as the First Baptist Church of San Andrés, founded in 1847, continued to attract worshippers and is now the oldest Baptist church in the Caribbean (Moore 2000). Rubinstein had a son who was born on San Andrés and was associated with him in his copra business (Arbell 1997, 19).

As there was no money on the island, Rubinstein had to issue tokens. They are small German-silver pieces with a value of 5 cents, issued after he brought his son into the business, so they were used circa 1900 to 1915 (Fig. 24). Rulau lists them as Colombia SAP 12. They were nicknamed "Rubies". According to the natives, Colombian authorities confiscated and destroyed all of them in 1928 after they were confirmed in their claim to San Andrés by the Permanent International Court of Justice, the Hague, and there are none left on the island.

Disclaimer and Conclusion

This paper has been restricted to issuers who I am absolutely certain were Jewish and whose tokens circulated prior to 1920. There are half a dozen others that were probably Jewish, and three or four more whose tokens were issued after 1920. So I do not claim completeness. But I hope that I have shed some light on the contributions of these descendants of terrified refugees to the commerce and improvement of the lands of the Caribbean.

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The Cuban Key Counterstamps Revisited

John P. Lorenzo

Coinage of the Americas Conference
at The American Numismatic Society, New York

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It is hard to imagine a more challenging series to study and collect than the money and the objects that passed for money in the 1700s and 1800s in the West Indies. Numismatists in this field, such as Wood, Gillette, Chalmers, Primmer, Ford, Gordon, and Tankersley, have illuminated some of its darkest corners. The most noteworthy are Pridmore and especially Ray Byrne. In his introduction to his own collection, Byrne (1975) states:

> The obsession for gold and silver dominated the nations of the world during the middle ages, but these nations, sending their heroic discoverers to the "Indies" fell under the spell of their greed, and in return for this wealth offered only products and services to the colonists in the Americas, and by doing so, equipped and industrialized themselves. Thus the European nations left for the settlers little or no quantities of any precious metals that were not strictly indispensable for local trading and the direct result of this imbalance was felt locally by the effects of a private and local mercantilism still greedier. This raiding of the New World of its gold and silver ores forced the Americas and specifically the islanders of the West Indies to get along without it and eventually to "create" obsidional or necessity monies for daily transactions.
>
> It is noteworthy that all of the currencies "created" by the West Indies settlers, through local council edicts due to the dearth of small change for daily use, were short lived, and history records that the period from their introduction and cessation by law was from 1758 (Jamaica) to 1818 in Puerto Rico. Since all the manufactured monies were, for the most part, holed or segmented portions of the prolifically produced Spanish American minted "Peso", "Duro", "Piastre" or "Eight Reales", which in most instances were subsequently stamped with a mark or device for island identification [such as the "key" Cuban coins], and passed "current" at a substantially higher rate than their individual intrinsic values, that demonetization on a continual rising crescendo resulted in a most hazardous as well as disastrous economic experiment.

One of these emergency monies was the key counterstamps of Cuba. Ray Byrne (1975, 10) believed that the "key" counterstamp was used in the period from 1872 to 1877 or during the interim between the attempted coinages of 1869 to 1870 and 1878, the year the Ten Years' War ended.

Howland Wood (1914) distinguishes the early key that Byrne links to Santo Domingo, which he describes as "a raised key in an indented outline

with a lozenge shaped bow", from the "more modern-looking" one, as Wood calls the short/thick key, noting that the pieces that had come to his attention had dates ranging from 1862 to 1874. Wood apparently did not differentiate between the two modern types based on the number of specimens available to him, being the the long/thin and short/thick types that have been tabulated in this paper (Table 1). There seems to be a unique fourth type that is counterstamped with the Tankersley 35 sale specimen. The key counterstamp depicts a castle above a raised key whose measurements are different than the short/thick or long/thin key types.

Why the Santo Domingo Key Counterstamp?

After Columbus's landing and conquest of Hispaniola, the Spanish crown became increasingly intrigued over the possibility of finding gold in Cuba. Diego Velázquez was chosen to conquer Cuba just as he had Hispaniola. As soon as the conquest was complete and the Indians had been subjugated, the crown began introducing into the island the institutional apparatus necessary to govern the colony. The governor, the highest representative of the crown in the island, ruled Cuba with almost complete authority over administrative, political, and judicial affairs. The governor was technically subject to the audiencia in Santo Domingo and the viceroy in New Spain. In practice, however, he had much autonomy, particularly after the wealth of Mexico was discovered, diverting the crown's interest away from Cuba and its lack of resources.

As Byrne alluded to earlier, the economy was oriented toward importing necessities, with little or no provision for domestic manufacturing. Such essential items as tools, paper, and even foodstuffs were brought from the outside. Spain followed a thoroughly mercantilist economic policy, encouraging Cuba's dependence on outside sources of supply for its needs and looking at the island as a producer of raw materials to satisfy the needs of the mother country.

Cuba became the source of support for the conquest of nearby lands. It was from this island that Hernan Cortes's expedition sailed in 1519 to conquer the Aztec empire. The conquest of Mexico meant temporary prosperity and great euphoria, but it also meant the decline of Cuba's importance. The days of boom soon gave way to years of bust. Cuba was

Table 1.

Pedigree	Host Coin Denomination	Key Type (long or short)	Size (mm)[a]	Overall Comments
1. Byrne 90[b]	Mexico 1870-Mo Peso	Short	8.6–8.7	
2. Byrne 91	Mexico 1866-MO Maximilian peso	Long	9.7–9.8	
3. Byrne 92	Mexican 1869-Pi 4 Reales	Long	9.7–9.8	
4. Byrne 93	Mexican 1868-Zs 4 Reales	Long	9.7–9.8	
5. Byrne 94	United States Quarter 1853 with arrows and rays	Short	8.6–8.7	To date, all known Cuban key counterstamps with arrows and rays on U.S. coinage are counterstamped on Seated Liberty or Bust type coinage. No key counterstamps appear on Barber coinage, which started in 1892.
6. Byrne 95	Mexico 1849-Go 2 Reales	Short	8.6–8.7	
7. Byrne 96	Mexico 1852-Go 2 Reales	Short	8.6–8.7	
8. Byrne 97	Mexico 1859-Zs 2 Real	Short	8.6–8.7	
9. Tankersley 34[c]	USA Liberty Seated Half	Short[d]	8.6–8.7	In general, Cuban key counterstamp's are rarer on U.S. host coins than on Mexican coins.
10. Tankersley 34	Mexico, 25 Centavo 1874	Long[e]	9.7–9.8	
11. Tankersley 35	USA Liberty Seated Half 1854	currently not classified[f]	5.5–5.6	A new style of Cuban counterstamp key and again on a rare U.S. host coin.

12. ANS 1934.14.2	USA Seated Liberty Half 1853	Long	9.7–9.8	See Figure 1.
13. ANS 1935.107.2	USA Seated Liberty Quarter 1858	Short	8.6–8.7	See Figure 2.
14. ANS 1945.16.1	Mexican 2 Reales, Cap & Rays Type	Long	9.7–9.8	With a previous pedigree of A. Orlowski. See Figure 3.
15. ANS 1916.999.132	Avery Fund: Mexican 8 Reales; Mexico City Mint 1877	N/A	N/A	The key counterstamps on this host coin is incomplete and could not be measured. See Figure 4.
16. KM 374[g]	Mexican 2 Reales	Short	8.6–8.7	
17. KM 375	Mexican 4 Reales	Long	9.7–9.8	
18. KM 377	Mexican 8 Reales	Short	8.6–8.7	On larger denominations, whether on Mexican or U.S. host coins, the larger the denomination the less frequent the counterstamps is found, as expected.
19. KM 406	Mexican 1874 25 Centavos	Long	9.7–9.8	
20. KM 406	USA 1858 Seated Liberty Quarter	Short	8.6–8.7	
21. KM 406	USA Bust Quarter	Short	8.6–8.7	
22. KM 407	Mexican 1872 50 Centavos	Short	8.6–8.7	
23. KM 407	USA Bust Half dollar 1833	Short	8.6–8.7	A very rare host coin, as explained above.
24. KM 388	Mexican 1866 peso (Maximilian)	Long	9.7–9.8	
25. KM 408	Mexican Peso	Short	8.6–8.7	

(Table 1, continued)

Pedigree	Host Coin Denomination	Key Type (long or short)	Size (mm)[a]	Overall Comments
26. Wood 115	Small copper of Charles/ Johanna of Spain[h]	currently not classified	9.4–9.5	Similar to the long keys described above but of a different design and on a very early host coin. The start of the key counterstamps in this series start with this coin. These are the first counterstamps in the Western hemisphere!
27. Wood 115, 115-a	Mexican 1862 2 reales	Short	8.6–8.7	
28. Gibbs 1066	Santo Domingo ¼ real (1516-1520) Charles & Johanna	currently not classified	no plate	Similar host coin to Wood 115 above; although not pictured, so a comparison of key types was not possible.
29. Gibbs 1067	Santo Domingo ¼ real (1516-1520) Charles & Johanna	currently not classified	poor plate	Similar overall to Wood 115 but without 100% confidence due to the poor plate in the Gibbs sale.
30. Gibbs 1068	Santo Domingo ¼ real (1516–1520) Charles & Johanna	currently not classified	no plate	
31. Gibbs 1069-1080[i]				
32. FR 1174	Mexican 2 Real 1842 Ga	Short	8.6–8.7	
33. FR 1177	1835 Bust Quarter USA	Short	8.6–8.7	

34. Byrne 1118	4 Maravedis	currently not classified	not measured	Byrne classified these to the 1506–1556 period struck in Santo Domingo. These have been included here for completeness along with specimens 26, 28–30 above in this table.

a. The measurement was taken from both the pictures in the catalogs and when available from actual specimens and the measurements were taken from the tip of the key to the end-point of the two circles on the other end of the key. Due to this interpretation, the lengths are given as ranges.
b. Jess Peters sale No. 78, Coins and Tokens of the Caribees by Ray Byrne, lots 90–97.
c. Tankersley sale 1998.
d. The USA Seated Liberty Half Dollar was not classified as a long or short key. Simply stated as similar to Byrne 94 which was a short key on a Seated Liberty Quarter. The key on Tankersley 34 does measure 8.6–8.7mm, however the cataloger could have stated it was similar to all of the short key counterstamps in Byrne, but referred the reader more to the host coin than the counterstamp.
e. Tankersley 34 was a two-coin group lot and the second specimen is a long key type on a Mexican 25 Centavo. The cataloger is mistaken that it is similar to Byrne 96 which is a short key. The counterstamp is similar to Byrne specimens 91–93.
f. Tankersley 35 provides us with a new key counterstamp with a "castle" in relief above a very small key. It measures approximately 5.5–5.6 mm and is smaller overall than the standard short key type and is of a different design.
g. KM thought these countermark coins were most likely used during the 1872–1877 period by the Cuban revolutionary troops as a fund-raising device. Commonly encountered on Mexican coins is also indicated by this reference book. Byrne seems also to confirm this striking period and this is confirmed when reviewing all the host coins in this table.
h. Only two specimens are pictured by Howland Wood in his excellent 1914 article. The only key he describes as being an early type is in his figure 115, which he describes as the oldest countermark in the Western hemisphere, and in this form is always found impressed on the copper pieces of Charles & Johanna issued from the mint of Mexico. These are of the types seen in Gibbs 1066–1068 and probably one of these is Wood 115. Wood continues and indicated "the ancient look of the key makes it probably a stamp of about this period, the late 16th century". It is claimed by some to be the mark of Santo Domingo when under Spanish rule. This has been addressed and has been confirmed by the information supplied by Ortiz in this paper.
i. In the Hans Shulman, March 1966 sale of the Howard Gibbs collection, Shulman groups the key counterstamps into old and new. The new being the current short/long versions in the Krause Standard Catalog (KM) and the old as Wood describes as being counterstamp on the Charles & Johannes host coin. The new key counterstamp coins in the Gibbs sale for completeness (no distinction was made by the category on short vs. long) was as follows: 1849 GC 2 Reales, 1855 (PF) 2 Reales, 1858 (PF) 2 Reales, 1871 25 Mexican Centavos, 1818 25 Cent Bust Quarter, 1853 Liberty Seated Quarter USA, 1851 Zacatecas 4 Reales, 1871 50 Centavo, 1871-S Guanaxto Scale Peso and a 1872-M Mexico Scale Peso which measures as a long key.

Figure 1. ANS 1934.14.2

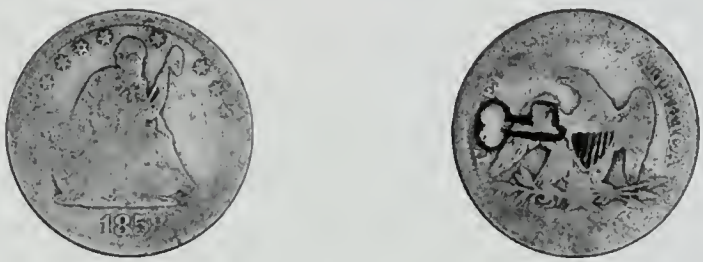

Figure 2. ANS 1935.107.2

Figure 3. ANS 1945.16.1

Figure 4. ANS 1916.999.132

simply relegated to the status of a mere stopping point for ships to the New World. This produced an economy of scarcity. The Santo Domingo mint simply counterstamped these issues with a "key" to ensure these coins would stay put in the general area.

The key has its origin in the coat of arms granted to Santo Domingo in 1508 by King Ferdinand "the Catholic" when he gave it the status of city (the following discussion is based on information provided to the author by Emilio Ortiz [personal communication, August 1999]). He placed a key in the coat of arms as a symbol of the strategic location of the city in the Antilles. This symbol of the key was later conferred on Havana (Burzio 1958, 1:327).

During April of 1577 the "cuartos" minted in Seville and Santo Domingo, which were circulating in the latter, were recalled by the Regent of the city, Baltasar García, and stamped with a key to denote a devaluation to two maravedís for each cuarto. The circulation of cuartos not stamped with the key was prohibited. This devaluation was later confirmed by the Supreme Council of the Indies in a royal decree dated 25 July 1583; however, the decree went on to authorize the circulation of the cuartos, with or without the key counterstamp.

Santiago de Cuba had also been using these cuartos from Seville and Santo Domingo for their monetary needs prior to 1577 and continued to do so thereafter. Since the key counterstamp coins were not readily accepted in Santo Domingo, and because of the proximity of both cities, Ortiz indicated to this writer that he is firmly convinced that the key counterstamp coins found their way into Santiago de Cuba and were used there as well based on the needs of the economy of Santa Domingo for small denomination change.

According to Howland Wood, the key counterstamp of Santo Domingo is also found over Mexican cuartos and Charles & Johanna pieces. Neither this writer nor Ortiz has seen any of these pieces, but if they existed, Ortiz believes they found their way into the Cuban monetary system at the time. In fact, the same key counterstamp coins were used in Jamaica where an additional anchor counterstamp was struck to identify its local validation (Stack's Coin Galleries 1999 Sale).

Philip II granted "La Habana" the title of a city on 20 December 1592. In its coat of arms there are three castles and a key in the field. This grant

was lost in a shipwreck and not received in Havana until 1665, fully 73 years later! This fact probably explains the Tankersley 35 example listed under Table 1 as no. 11. A castle/key combination counterstamp is highly likely to have been "meant" to circulate in the Havana region of Cuba or simply was another Cuban counterstamp of a much rarer type; currently only one specimen has been traced as compared to the conventional long and short key types.

Ortiz indicates that from 1508, when Santo Domingo was granted the key, to 1665, when Havana actually received its grant with the key, there was an interlude of 157 years (over century and a half!) where there can be no dispute at all of the origin of the key counterstamp.

The Ten Years War: A Review of Table 1

On 10 October 1868, a large eastern plantation owner named Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, who is still revered in Cuba as a great liberator, freed the slaves on La Demajagua at his plantation near Manzanillo and demanded the emancipation of all slaves in Cuba. His declaration known as the *Grito de Yara,* "Shout of Yara", started the Ten Years' War, which is remembered as the bloodiest period in Cuban history. He began a rebellion against Spain with an army of only 37, but this slave-owner, poet, lawyer, and rancher quickly inspired other plantation owners, many of whom had suffered losses during the collapse of the sugar market, to free their slaves and join the movement. Many of the former slaves and other small landowners from the east also joined the fight for independence, so it was a mixed army of blacks, mulattos, and whites. The Spanish called them the Mambí, which in the Congolese spoken by the slaves meant "despicable and dirty".

Within a week, Cespedes had gathered fifteen hundred men to his side. The first great battle of the war was for Bayamo, and it fell quickly to the Mambí, who wore *guayabaras* and red scarves in their victory parade. The song that would later become the Cuban national anthem, "La Bayamesa", was composed here after this battle, but the celebration was short-lived and the Spanish quickly returned to take the town. Instead of conceding defeat the Mambí burned Bayamo to the ground (Ortiz 1995).

This led to an incredible reprisal in Havana and elsewhere, in which Spanish loyalists burned Mambí sympathizers' homes and businesses, driving many of them out of the country. In a foreshadowing of what would

happen when Castro took power 100 years later, at least 100,000 Cubans left the island in 1869, many for the United States. All their lands were appropriated and given to the loyalists.

José Martí Pérez, who would eventually become the most revered of Cuba's pantheon of heroes, was arrested for the first time during this purge after the authorities found a note he had written to a schoolmate saying he supported the revolution. The teenage Martí was sentenced to six years of hard labor, breaking stones. He was released from his sentence early, in 1871, on the condition that he be exiled to Spain (Ortiz 1995).

Finally, after ten bloody years, in which about 250,000 Cubans and 80,000 Spaniards died, the Cuban government offered the rebels a general amnesty in return for their surrender. The rebels, with one major exception in Antonio Maceo, agreed. The pact of Zanjon was signed in 1878, with Spain giving the island some limited independence by changing it from a colony to a more or less self-governing protectorate (Ortiz 1995).

The war had severely damaged the economy. Byrne's conclusion that these coins were counterstamped during the Ten Years' War is thus correct because no host coin postdates the Pact of Zanjon in 1878 and host coins ranged from 1835 (specimen #33) to an 1877 8 reales (no. 15). Interestingly, the large number of US coins may be explained by the fact that after the war ended many North American investors took advantage of the chaos following the war by buying huge tracts of abandoned or unused land at very low prices. US companies invested a lot of money—some say as much as $100 million—to gain control of and upgrade the processing of sugar and tobacco plants. This counterstamped Liberty Seated and Bust US coinage probably came during or at the end of the Ten Years' War. This emergency counterstamping process obviously was no longer needed after the war ended, whereupon the US poured millions into the economy (for its own benefit). At this time, only Mexican and US coinage was counterstamped with this "key" counterstamp, as one would expect. This also signifies the type of "closed" economy that occurred in Cuba during the Ten Years' War.

The Key Counterstamp on US Coinage and Why

On review of Table 1 we see several examples of the key counterstamp on US coinage. We see examples as early as a Bust Half-Dollar and an 1835

Bust-Style Quarter. These are very rare host coins for the counterstamps, which more commonly appear on Seated Liberty US silver coinage of the period of 1850 to 1875. The main point is to recognize the time period within which these specimens were counterstamped and to note that the counterstamps are only found on US silver coinage and not on gold or copper coinage. Interestingly, no key counterstamp has yet been reported on US Barber coinage (i.e., 1892 and beyond) of any denomination, whether copper, silver, or gold.

Most of the key counterstamps were placed on the US coinage dated between 1850 and 1875. To understand the significance of this occurrence, let us look more closely on the historical events between the US and Cuba during this period than previously discussed in the paper.

Through most of its history, the United States has looked at Cuba with covetous eyes. There were times—especially during the period of the Civil War (1861–1865)—when politicians and profiteers had other matters on their mind. But the natural resources of Cuba, the bountiful produce of the island's slave plantations, the post-slavery commercial potential, the real estate, and the strategic siting of the "Pearl of Antilles" all tempted the northern colossus, the United States. Even the long Spanish occupation could not block the growing US commercial interests in Cuba, and talk of adding Cuba—by purchase or conquest—to the expanding American empire continued unabated for more than a century.

Thomas Jefferson, the slave-holding third US president (1801–1809), had firm views on the status of Cuba: he was, observed one authority, "a constant spokesman for incorporation of Cuba into the Union" (Southey 1968). In November 1805 he declared that the prospect of war with Spain would not be allowed to deter the United States from seizing Florida: East and West Florida and then the island of Cuba would be easy conquests. In 1808 General James Wilkinson was dispatched to Cuba to hint to Captain-General Someruelos that his interests would best be served by allowing the United States to acquire Cuba. The Spanish authorities summarily rejected the proposal, but this was far from the end of the matter. Jefferson never relinquished the idea of a US acquisition of the island, and repeatedly counseled his successor, President James Madison (1809–1817), as to how Cuba might be acquired. Madison, however, saw problems, not least that the conquest of Cuba might be difficult to sustain in light of English ambitions.

President James Polk (1845–1849) offered to buy Cuba from Spain for $100 million in 1848, but the offer was rejected. Six years later, President Franklin Pierce (1853–1857) raised the offer to $130 million, again without success. James Buchanan (1857–1861) and Ulysses S. Grant (1869–1877) also attempted, and William McKinley (1897–1901) made the final offer just prior to the American invasion on the island.

It seems obvious why Cuban counterstamps commonly appear on US Seated Liberty coinage. By the middle of the nineteenth century the US accounted for about a third of the island's trade, a proportion that exceeded Cuban commerce with Spain. The US was exporting around $8 million worth of goods to the island each year, and receiving in return some $12 million worth. By this time, more than half the merchant ships entering Cuban ports carried the American flag. At a time when sugar products represented more than three quarters of Cuba's total exports, American consumption of sugar increased fourfold. Annexationists were happy to contemplate some future time when, with Cuba joining sugar-producing Louisiana in the expanding American empire, the US would control the world's supply of sugar. By the 1880s six regular shipping lines (the Ward, Munson, and Plant lines being the best known) were providing merchant and passenger links between Cuba and the US. Sugar was the heart of the expanding trade, and as a result this counterstamp key coinage was an integral part.

Concerning the key counterstamp coins listed in Table 1, Ortiz agrees that they were struck during the Ten Years' War in Cuba, and the dates of the host coins amply validate this assertion. Furthermore, these coins were "only used in liberated areas" of Cuba by the insurgent Mambí as a way to create an independent economy and boost their war efforts; this is also why no Spanish coins are found with this counterstamp. Finally, Ortiz believes that during this bloody war the Spanish generals, who were very secretive about the war losses, admitted to a number of close to 300,000 on their side.

Conclusion

The key counterstamps trace their origin to Santo Domingo in 1508, when King Ferdinand gave it the status of city and placed a key in the coat of arms as a symbol of its strategic location in the Antilles. We see a castle

and a key in the coat of arms for the city of Havana. This may explain the currently "unique" castle and key counterstamp on the Tankersley 35 specimen listed in Table 1.

The key counterstamp then appears on Mexican and US coins used in the Ten Years' War by the Mambí in their dream of independence from Spanish rule. The key symbol indicates independence and liberation. It has always had a special meaning to Cubans and is their most important symbol based on the opinion of this numismatist.

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Cuba's 1897 Souvenir: Missing Link Debunks Conventional Wisdom

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There is always a veil of romanticism when we think of a revolution and the unselfish efforts of its participants. The history of the souvenir coins sold by the Cuban revolutionary junta in New York is no exception. The primary purpose of the Junta was to raise funds for a revolutionary cause, and the souvenir coins presented an excellent venue. There was also a desire to establish the awareness of a free "Republic of Cuba" in the United States of America by means of this coinage (which, by the way, had a redemption value of 1 dollar once the republic was constituted).

For Andrew J. Cobe, the man behind the idea, neither patriotism nor altruism was his motive when he wrote to the Junta on 12 March 1897, proposing the scheme to raise funds for a "Cuba Libre".

The idea caught on immediately with the Junta, as negotiations started and some informal agreements were made. By April 1897, Don Tomás Estrada Palma,[1] Plenipotentiary Delegate of the Republic of Cuba in New York, had authorized Mr. José Zayas,[2] Financial Commissioner of the Cuban delegation, to supervise all work related to the striking of these coins.

During this period Cobe was not at a standstill. He engaged medallist Philip Martiny[3] to execute the design and plaster casts. Martiny did not charge for his work; he donated it as a contribution to the Cuban revolutionary cause. Originally Martiny worked from a hand drawing supplied by Estrada Palma (Fig. 1)[4] to create a Liberty bust. Later he used Leonor Molina—a beautiful Creole native of Camagüey province who was very active in the Cuban revolutionary circles in New York—as the model for the curly-hair bust (Fig. 2).

Martiny promised delivery of the design by 29 April "without fail", and on 30 April Cobe advised Zayas he had received the design, for which he needed Zayas' approval. Furthermore he advised that Martiny was already working on the plaster casts. From this correspondence we can see that Martiny's work developed very rapidly; from his engagement on or about 21 April 1897, it took him about eight days for his first design to be ready by 29 April. He was working on the plaster casts by 30 April.

Cobe, moving full speed ahead, was negotiating parallel contracts with Estrada Palma and with Gorham Mfg. Co. to strike the coins. He signed with Don Tomás Estrada Palma on 10 May 1897 (D.I. 7)[5] and with Gorham on 11 May 1897 (D.I. 9). The highlights of the Estrada Palma contract were:

Figure 1. Hand drawing by Zayas of original design.

Figure 2.

1. An agreement to strike up to three million coins of which the first installment would consist of 10,000 pieces,
2. A net profit for the Junta of 37.5 cents per coin,
3. A coin weight set at 348 grains and a silver fineness set at .900.

On 11 May 1897 Cobe wrote Zayas (D.I. 8) that "Mr. Martigny [*sic*] just telephoned that the two models are complete."

It is very clear that two plaster casts were made, and since Zayas had approved Martiny's original drawing on 30 April, which was based on Zayas' hand drawing reproduced in Figure 1, we have to conclude that these two plaster casts pertain to an obverse design depicting a Liberty bust with laurel and tobacco wreath, and a reverse design with the inscription UN PESO under the shield. The Leonor Molina bust with "natural curly hair",

as suggested by the patent attorneys, was created much later as the result of their letter dated 1 June 1897 (D.I. 11).

Again, following the progress of Martiny's work, we can see that from the design stage, which was finished by 29 April, he moved into the plaster cast stage, and had both casts finished by 11 May 1897, barely eleven days later. Based on the speed of the events we theorize that the next step, the creation of the dies, must have been started by Gorham Mfg. immediately after the plaster casts were approved by Zayas, since their contract with Cobe was signed also on the same date.

As said before, A.J. Cobe & Co. contracted with The Gorham Manufacturing Company, Providence, Rhode Island, on 11 May 1897 for the striking of the souvenir coins. The agreement actually passed on to the Gorham all the responsibilities Cobe had contracted with the Junta, while assuring Cobe and his associates a tidy profit.

According to the terms of the Gorham contract, Cobe was to pay Gorham "the sum of forty-nine and $^{35}/_{100}$ ($49\,^{35}/_{100}$) cents for each Souvenir coin so delivered", and since the Junta was netting 37½ cents per coin, the gross profit to Cobe was thus established at $13\,^{15}/_{100}$ cents for each coin sold by the Junta.

When we realize that it was intended that three million souvenir coins were to be struck, it is easy to see the potential profits envisioned by Mr. Cobe. Simple arithmetic shows his estimated profit to be about $394,500, an extremely respectable amount in those days as well as today.

This contract also has a very interesting hand amendment, dated February 1898 (no day given), in which the intent of giving the Junta, referred to as the "Republic of Cuba", direct and full control over the striking process of the future 1898 coinage is clear (D.I. 9). We should note the *de facto* use of "Republic of Cuba", which was probably due to the prevailing American sentiment caused by the explosion of the US battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana on 15 February 1898. The United States declared war on Spain on 19 April 1898. This amendment, in our opinion, gives additional support to the theory that Gorham Mfg. contracted with the Junta for the striking of the 1898 coinage. It reads as follows:

> We hereby give our consent to the substitution of the Republic of Cuba in our name instead in the above Contract it being understood however that the payments for the dies stipulated in article fourth of said contract

> remains my obligation to the Gorham Co. and are not to be assumed by the Republic of Cuba.
>
> Dated New York, February 1898
> Andrew J. Cobe [seal]
> Gustavus J. Markewitz [seal]

Cobe must have been worried about the legal implications of striking these coins for the Republic of Cuba (which was only recognized as such by a handful of countries, not including the USA) and thus engaged the legal services of patent attorneys Jerome Carty and John W. Cook. He sent them to Washington to obtain at least some verbal assurances that this coinage would comply with US law.

A very interesting set of letters reveals that the US government was very much on top of things, at least insofar as the Junta's financial and fundraising matters were concerned. On 28 May, Carty wrote a lengthy letter to Cobe (D.I. 10) that partially reads:

> Further confirming my mission to Washington on your behalf . . . I do not hesitate to confirm the opinion heretofore expressed to you verbally, that the souvenir proposed to be issued, and shown to me in New York in plaster, comes directly within the provisions of Section 5461 of the Revised Statutes of the United States. . . . The test in this regard is not the intention of the people issuing it, but the effect which would be produced on the community. . . .
>
> . . . I am furthermore of the opinion that the obverse of the coin referred to with the head of a woman representing the "Goddess of Liberty" . . . would be held to be such a resemblance to the coins of the United States as to induce the Treasury department to suppress its issue. . . . I think Messrs. Palmi[6] and Quesada both agree with me that the words "Un Peso" and the head of the woman should be eliminated and the words "Cuba Libre" souvenir added. . . .
>
> . . . In order to obtain and hold exclusive right to issue a coin for the prospective Republic of Cuba, and to cover the Cuba model, he desires to have *design patents taken on both the present design and that which will be decided upon as the souvenir* [emphasis ours].

The above letter gives us the first indication of a desire to obtain design patents and confirms our theory of a plaster cast obverse with LIBERTY

Figure 3. In order to have a better understanding of how the actual design may have looked, Mr. Roberto Pesant made a hand drawing of his interpretation of the Zayas design as it may have been rendered by Martiny.

and a plaster cast reverse with UN PESO. Additionally it demonstrates that the word "souvenir", which was later decided upon, was an accommodation to the objections received, not the original intent of the planned coinage.

We believe that Gorham had proceeded with their work and had finished cutting two dies (Obv/Rev Type 1) based on Martiny's original plaster casts. Certainly there was enough time to do it—seventeen days from 11 May (approval date) to 28 May (above letter from Mr. Carty), more than it took to prepare the subsequent dies. The main reason behind our theory is that the reverse of the 1898 peso coin has the initial M engraved under the palm and this initial appears only in the first group of the 1897 reverse dies and never later. We thus attribute the reverse of the 1898 peso to the very first die cut during May of 1897, using the reverse design of the original plaster cast. It is quite possible that a bronze pattern was struck using these dies; however, this is unconfirmed.

A wild-card theory: could it be that Martiny was engaged by either Cobe and/or Gorham to sink the first set of dies in order to expedite the process? This is a more definitive explanation of the appearance of the M engraved in the reverse die, although the plaster cast surely must also have had his initial, which could have been copied by another engraver. These two possible dies are:

obverse type 1, die 1A = full date 1897 under liberty bust
reverse type 1, die 1A = UN PESO under shield and M

In order to have a better understanding of how the actual design looked, Mr. Roberto Pesant made a hand drawing of his interpretation of the Zayas design as it may have been rendered by Martiny (Fig. 3).

Several days later, on 1 June, an extremely important letter signed by Carty and Cook was sent to both Estrada Palma and Cobe, suggesting changes in the design of the proposed souvenir, from UN PESO to five stars and from the liberty-cap bust to a curly-hair bust. Also suggested were the insertion of the word "souvenir" and the placement of the 1897 to the left and right of the neck (D.I. 11).

After the letter of 1 June, it was back to square one for everyone; compromises came in small steps. Due to the changes requested by Carty and Cook, a new obverse was prepared to conform to the US statutes, except for the placement of the date. Leonor Molina modelled for Martiny's new bust with "natural curly hair".

It seems, however, that someone at the Junta was very determined not to use the word "souvenir" because Martiny, against the suggestions of the patent attorneys, left the 1897 date under the bust while fully complying with the new reverse suggestions by deleting UN PESO and substituting five stars.

Our theory is that the Junta decided not to change the obverse design described above because it harbored lingering hopes that changing the liberty-cap bust design would gain acceptance by US Treasury officials. Instead they concentrated on modifying the reverse design to accommodate their "suggestions", and so the value of UN PESO was deleted and substituted with six stars (not the five stars suggested by the attorneys).

We can now categorically confirm that not only were dies of this type cut, but also that an extremely rare pattern was struck (Fig. 4). This bronze pattern is the only true pattern confirmed to date. We are privileged to have this specimen in our cabinet and we have assigned it the following type:

obverse type 2, die 2B: full date (1897) under curly hair bust
reverse type 2, die 2B: six stars under shield and M

It is interesting to note that the only difference between the reverses of the above pattern and the 1898 specimens is that there are six stars in the pattern and UN PESO in the other. This cannot be a coincidence. We must conclude that the reverse die used for the 1898 specimens was copied, deleting UN PESO and substituting six stars, and that the 1898 reverse was struck from the very same die that was prepared but not used for the reverse of the 1897 coins, namely reverse type 1, die 1A.

Figure 4. Obverse 2B, reverse 2B.

The Junta eventually, although very reluctantly, had to accept the facts and swallow their pride. The obverse was again modified, this time to reflect the broken date and the word SOUVENIR as had been suggested by the patent attorneys (D.I. 13C). This is the first circulating coin and we have assigned it the following type (Fig. 5):

obverse type 3, die 3C: SOUVENIR; star (Q) below
reverse type 2, die 2B: six stars under shield and M

By 7 July Mr. Ramón Navarro (he was the on-site inspector and representative for the Junta) wrote Zayas (D.I. 12): "I am assured by this gentleman [Mr. Bogle of Gorham Mfg. Co.] that tomorrow [8 July] at 9 a.m. and in my presence, 2,500 souvenirs will be struck and I shall issue a Certificate of that operation. If the promise is fulfilled tomorrow in the afternoon I shall be there."

On 10 July Zayas wrote to Cobe (D.I. 13):

> Noticing the new souvenir that was sent to us by the Gorham Mfg. Co. I beg to make the following observations in reference to same.
>
> The head is too high, if you notice after rubbing two together the cheek appears scratched. On the side where the shield appears the six stars are not pronounced enough. Some of the coins are twisted, and the edges are very poor. In fact the whole souvenir appears very crude and botchy.
>
> I only accept *the first* [emphasis ours] lot with the understanding that the next will be much better, and cleaner in appearance.

Figure 5. Obverse 3C, reverse 2B.

From this letter we must conclude that a trial run of silver souvenir coins was struck prior to 10 July, probably on 8 July. It is evident that the operation encountered problems and that the projection of 2,500 coins was unrealistic. We believe that six examples of this very first coinage were struck at this time while production was delayed to correct the faults indicated by Zayas.

The official receipt given to and accepted by the Junta indicates that 858 coins were made in this production run, with 30 defective pieces subsequently destroyed (D.I. 24A). The minting records indicate, however, that a total of 852 silver pieces were struck, a discrepancy of six coins. We can only conclude that the difference of six coins must be related to the first lot delivered to Zayas, to which he expressed his objections but which he finally accepted (D.I. 13).

The first evidence of the actual striking of silver coins comes from a letter by Navarro to Zayas dated 15 July (D.I. 14), which reads [translated from the original Spanish: "I received your telegram at 4 p.m. to which I promptly replied saying 'Ready to stamp will have souvenirs tomorrow'. . . . I already have in my possession, and in a separate envelope, *the first three silver pesos struck* [emphasis ours]. Tomorrow many will be made and I shall advise."

The following day, 16 July, Navarro wrote Zayas on Dunn's letterhead (D.I. 15): "The pesos are pretty and acceptable according to the knowledgeable, among them the Chief of the Minting department of the U.S. Mint in

Figure 6. Obverse 3D, reverse 2C.

this city." Navarro further said, "this afternoon five boxes have arrived from Providence containing silver." It is very clear to this writer that Gorham was the supplier of these five boxes containing the silver planchets.

We theorize that during the trial run, a very strong press pressure caused the coins to come out twisted, with edges deformed and uneven depth of relief. It is unknown at this time how many dies were cut for the intended goal of striking three million coins, but we estimate only three dies were made. It is our opinion that even after adjustments in the press equipment, which took several days, the useful life of the dies was shortened, causing them to break earlier than originally expected.

We estimate that three dies were cut based on the correspondence relating to these events. After all the dies had been used, only 858 pieces had been struck. Of these, thirty impaired examples were later destroyed; thus the total net mintage for this coin type was only 828 pieces. Some bronze trial pieces were struck, and they are exceedingly rare.

After a new set of dies was prepared, the minting resumed on 3 August and a total of 4,286 coins were struck on that day. There are also bronze trial pieces of this type, which are very rare. Navarro reported to Zayas (D.I. 20): *"Now the minting has been suspended for one week because the dies broke again and there are no spares* [emphasis ours]. Mr. Bogle [Gorham] says that it takes 7 or 8 days to make new ones."

The coins made in the second striking group were from brand new obverse and reverse dies (Fig. 6). Since the letter "M" does not appear on the reverse of these dies another question is raised: Was a new engraver used

to prepare them? It is interesting to note that it took about sixteen days to make these dies and that a much higher production was achieved, but the presses continued to cause problems since the dies lasted only one day of constant use. We have identified them as follows:

obverse type 3, die 3D: SOUVENIR; star (Q) above
reverse type 2, die 2C: six stars under shield, without M

Production resumed seventeen days later, on 20 August. It must have been extremely frustrating for everyone involved that the dies broke again after striking only 4,856 coins during the day. This was possible only due to the several dies prepared and used in this production run. These are the famous PAT.97. coins, and we have noted five confirmed obverse/reverse die combinations, with another possible combination as yet unconfirmed.

Regarding the patent protection desired by the Junta, which led to the PAT.97. inscription on these dies, it is important to direct our attention to an article by the editors of the *American Journal of Numismatics,* appearing in 1898, making reference to these specimens: "An examination of the indices to the *Weekly Gazette* of the United States Patent Office fails to show that the design was ever published."

The bronze trial pieces in this group are extremely rare because they exist for each confirmed combination, and although the quantity of silver coins minted of each confirmed combination is unknown, simple arithmetic indicates that, on average, there are less than 1,000 coins per combination.

obverse type 4, die 4E: SOUVENIR – PAT.97.
reverse type 2, die 2C: six stars under shield - w/o M

obverse type 4, die 4E: SOUVENIR – PAT.97.
reverse type 2, die 2D: six stars, four coconuts - w/o M

obverse type 4, die 4F: SOUVENIR – PAT.97.
reverse type 2, die 2C: six stars under shield - w/o M

obverse type 4, die 4F: SOUVENIR – PAT.97.
reverse type 2, die 2D: six stars, four coconuts – w/o M (unconfirmed)

Figure 7. A) Trial specimen of obverse 4E, reverse 2C; B) obverse 4F, reverse 2C; C) obverse 4G, reverse 2C; D) reverse 2D.

obverse type 4, die 4G: SOUVENIR – PAT.97.
reverse type 2, die 2C: six stars under shield – w/o M

obverse type 4, die 4G: SOUVENIR – PAT.97.
reverse type 2, die 2D: six stars, four coconuts – w/o M

See Figure 7 for this type.

Documentary evidence shows that during the first production period from 8 July through 18 July a total of 858 coins were made at The Dunn Air-Brake Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. During the second and third production periods, 4,286 specimens were made on 3 August, and 4,856 on 20 August, at the Gorham Manufacturing Company, Providence, Rhode Island. It is unclear exactly why there were two locations and companies involved in the minting process. Perhaps someone will be able to confirm our assumptions in this area in the future, but what is plainly evident is that Gorham subcontracted Dunn to strike the coins, at least partially, until their equipment arrived, which it did by the end of July.

Based on the above, we have to conclude that the coinage was struck as follows:

Struck by Dunn (8–18 July 1897)

Type 1/1, Obv/Rev Dies 1A/1A: The obverse with full date 1897 under the liberty bust. The reverse with UN PESO under the shield. We further believe that because the US government did not want to allow the minting of coinage from a revolutionary government on U.S. soil, the Junta was forced to make a totally revised obverse and reverse, thus creating:

Type 2/2, Obv/Rev Dies 2B/2B: A new obverse design with the Leonor bust with curly hair and 1897 under the bust instead of SOUVENIR. A new reverse, placing six stars below the shield instead of UN PESO. These modifications did not result in approval either; thus, another change was made:

Type 3/2, Obv/Rev Dies 3C/2B: This time the new obverse created was according to the principles suggested, with the date separated by the bust and SOUVENIR under the bust, the ★ below as we know it. But evidently these dies did not last long because after striking only 858 coins they were gone.

Struck by Gorham (3–20 August 1897)

Type 3/2, Obv/Rev Dies 3D/2C: The new dies have the same obverse/reverse type design, known as the ★ above. There were 4,286 specimens struck from these dies. This amount was well short of the 10,000 pieces contracted; therefore, more dies had to be prepared.

Type 4/2, Obv/Rev Dies 4E/2C, 4E/2D, 4F/2C, 4F/2D (unconfirmed), 4G/2C, and 4G/2D: Contrary to popular belief, the PAT.97. type was not the first design struck of this issue. Guttag identifies the correct order of the circulation strikes (his nos. 1534 and 1535) by indicating as "first die", which corresponds to my obverse dies 3C and 3D, and as his "second die", which corresponds to my obverse dies 4E, 4F, and 4G. The compelling data only serve to corroborate this reconstruction of the facts.

The PAT.97. type was so prolific with its obverse/reverse die combinations, we can conclude that because of their prior experience, Gorham wanted to have on hand enough dies to finish the job. Technically these specimens were not "muled", but certainly they were used without regard for any logical die usage or sequence. We therefore believe that all dies were cut simultaneously, perhaps by different engravers, and were lumped together for what became the last strikings of the "souvenir" coinage.

The 1898 Peso Coin

Early in 1898, the prevailing American sentiment for a free Cuba, the battleship *Maine* explosion in Havana's harbor, and the airs of war with Spain gave a clear green light signal for the Junta to strike a new coin with the full standing of the Republic and bearing the value of UN PESO. In the only documentary evidence available to us, a letter dated 9 March 1898, Gorham Mfg. advises Zayas as follows (D.I. 25):

> . . . The factory inform us that they will agree to make one thousand Cuban Coins in about four days from the receipt of the order. The price today for one thousand coins will be at the rate of forty eight (48) cents each. If ten thousand are ordered they will be at the rate of 46½ cents each. This price would not hold good for tomorrow if the price of fine silver should change.

Figure 8. 1898 peso: A) trial specimen; B) regular strike.

We therefore must conclude that Gorham did strike these coins at their own facilities and that the full 1,000 pieces were minted, thus representing the second rarest type of this series. We have assigned them the following type (Fig. 8):

> obverse type 5, die 5H: full date (1898) under curly hair bust
> reverse type 1, die 1A: UN PESO under shield and M

There are also bronze trial pieces of the 1898 specimens that are extremely rare. The existence of proofs in this series must be noted. Although there is no record of the quantity minted or the reason why, they are also extremely rare.

Finally, there are unconfirmed but extremely reliable reports of the existence of one gold piece that was presented to Leonor Molina for her posing without being financially compensated. This coin—if its existence

should be confirmed—would be unique. We have catalogued this specimen under type 3, dies 3C/2B; however, it is also possible that it could have been struck under type 2 from dies 2B/2B, which, in my opinion, would make this presentation coin among the rarest of all specimens in Cuban numismatic history.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The bronze pattern with obverse/reverse dies 2B/2B was clearly executed with the expectation that the obverse would be acceptable to the US government. The reverse had already been modified to delete UN PESO and replace it with the six stars. It is very important to note that the reverse of this pattern shows the initial M for the designer Martiny under the palm.

   Unfortunately, to avoid a possible violation of the US statutes, it was necessary to make another change. This time the obverse was modified to conform to the original suggestion by the patent attorneys, placing the date to the right and left of the bust and the word SOUVENIR at its base.
2. The first circulation design, my obverse type 3, was struck from 8 July through 18 July, and 858 pieces were struck. The obverse shows the date to the right and left of the bust flanked by a star on each side of the date. It does not show PAT.97. in the truncation of the bust. The reverse shows the initial M (for Martiny) under the palm.
3. On 28 July, exactly ten days after the first 858 coins had been struck, John M. Bogle (Gorham) wrote to Gustavus J. Markewitz about "opinion and advice regarding the whole matter pertaining to placing PAT. 97 on the coin, patent papers, etc. . . . He says he would not mark the coin and that the design could be so fully protected by copyright and the necessary papers must be made by the designer. . . ." (D.I. 18).
4. The second circulation design was struck on 3 August and also shows my obverse type 3, although it is slightly different because the star is above the baseline of the 7. The reverse does not have the initial M. A total of 4,286 pieces were struck.
5. Since Zayas obviously insisted on placing a patent mark on the coins, we conclude that he accepted the second production group

Figure 9. Cuban treasury cancellation punch? (under investigation).

because the dies must have been ready and because he did not want to further delay production of the coins. This second production was done only six days after the letter of 28 July was written. There was simply no time to make new dies with the PAT.97. inscription and complete the legal paperwork without further production delays.

6. The third and final circulation design for 1897 was struck on 20 August. This is the PAT.97. design, and a total of 4,856 pieces were struck from various obverse/reverse die combinations.
7. A study must be made of all dies at the Cuban National Archives. We would love to find the obverse die 1A as well as the remnants of the PAT.97. dies that survived the last strikings for 1897 including, hopefully, my unconfirmed types. Last but not least, we would like to determine how many dies were prepared for the 1898 specimens and if any of them survived.
8. The question whether these pieces were coins or not was properly addressed by Thomas Lismore in the January 1954 issue of *The Numismatist.* His most relevant points, in our opinion, were:
   a. That the revolutionary Junta issued a considerable quantity of paper money for the identical purpose of raising funds for the revolution.
   b. That the word "souvenir" used in this issue was to conceal the value of the coin in order to avoid complications with the United States government, and that these pieces were really coins.
   c. That according to an article in Havana's newspaper *El Sol* dated 7 July 1924, "the rest of this money [Souvenir and 1898 Peso],

not placed in circulation, was remitted to the National Treasury by President Estrada Palma in the year 1902."

Lismore asks, "Does anyone think that if these pieces were medals they would have been deposited in the Treasury?" He correctly respond, "No." We fully concur with Lismore and Pesant. These specimens cannot be considered medallic objects and must be recognized as coins. Indeed, the issuance of coins was the intention of the Junta from the very beginning in 1897, and these intentions were later reconfirmed by the 1898 coinage.

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Appendix 1. Die Study

Silver: diameter, 34 mm; weight, 22.50 g (348 grains); edge, reeded
Bronze: diameter, 34 mm; weight, 1897 19.04–19.23 g, 1898 19.29–19.31g; edge, reeded

EMO No.	KM No.	Type	Obv./Rev		Metal	Rarity	Struck Condition
			Type	Die			
1	N/L	1897 peso (Liberty bust)	1/1	A/A	bronze	R8/E.1	unconfirmed pattern

2	N/L	1897 stars (curly hair bust)	2/2	B/B	bronze	R8/E.1	pattern
3	M2a	★ below / stars	3/2	C/B	bronze	R7/E.1	trial specimen
3a	M2	★ below / stars	3/2	C/B	silver	R2/828	unconfirmed
3b	N/L	★ below / stars	3/2	C/B	gold	R8/E.1	reported
4	M3a	★ above / stars	3/2	D/C	bronze	R7/E.5	trial specimen
4a	M3	★ above / stars	3/2	D/C	silver	R1/ 4286	unconfirmed
5	M1a	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	E/C	bronze	R7/E.5	trial specimen
5a	M1	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	E/C	silver	R3/ 4856	unconfirmed
6	M1a	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	E/D	bronze	R7/E.5	trial specimen
6a	M1	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	E/D	silver	R3 (inc. above in 5)	unconfirmed
7	M1a	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	F/C	bronze	R7/E.5	trial specimen
7a	M1	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	F/C	silver	R3 (inc. above in 5)	unconfirmed
8	M1a	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	F/D	bronze		unconfirmed
8a	M1	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	F/D	silver		unconfirmed
9	M1a	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	G/C	bronze	R7/E.5	trial specimen

EMO No.	KM No.	Type	Obv./Rev		Metal	Rarity	Struck Condition
			Type	Die			
9a	M1	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	G/C	silver	R3 (inc. above in 5)	unconfirmed
10	N/L	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	G/D	bronze	R7/E.5	trial specimen
10a	N/L	PAT.97. / stars	4/2	G/D	silver	R3 (inc. above in 5)	unconfirmed
11	Pn-A10	1898 peso	5/1	H/A	bronze	R8/E.5	trial specimen
11a	8	1898 peso	5/1	H/A	silver	R2/1000	proof
11b	8	1898 peso	5/1	H/A	silver	R5 (as above)	unconfirmed

Obverse dies: A B C D E F G H
Reverse dies: A B C D

As usual, fewer reverse dies were needed since they lasted longer than the obverse dies.

Rarity (Sheldon scale)		
R1	Common	over 1,250 known
R2	Uncommon	501 to 1,250 known
R3	Scarce	201 to 500 known
R4	Very scarce	76 to 200 known
R5	Rare	31 to 75 known
R6	Very rare	13 to 30 known
R7	Extremely rare	4 to 12 known
R8	Unique or nearly unique	1 to 3 known

Minting Details By Date

A. Dunn Air-Brake Company, Philadelphia, PA

Date	Type		Number of Pieces
8 July	★ below		6[a,b]
15 July	★ below		3
16 July	★ below		178
17 July	★ below		383
18 July	★ below		288
		Subtotal	858
17 September	★ below		–30 (defective pcs. destroyed)
		Total	828

a. See D.I. 12. This letter serves as our basis for the estimates of quantities and date of minting.

b. See D.I. 13. After receiving the first lot of souvenir pieces, Mr. Zayas says, in a letter to Mr. Cobe dated 10 July 1897: "The head is too high, if you notice after rubbing two together the cheek appears scratched." He also says, "the six stars are not pronounced enough, some coins are twisted, and the edges very poor." From this statement we conclude that the first group of coins had an obverse with a very high relief and a reverse with a very soft strike. The twisted coins could be the result of press strikes under very high pressure and could partially explain the accelerated wear of the dies, which were prepared for the original 10,000 pieces contracted but yielded only 858 specimens (obv/rev dies 3C/2B). It is also very possible that the very poor edges could be a collar failure as a direct result of the strong press strikes, which caused the metal to be displaced outside and beyond the edges of the collar.

B. Gorham Manufacturing Company, Providence, RI

Date	Type		Number of Pieces
3 August	★ above		4,286
20 August	Pat.97.		4,856
		Subtotal	9,142
		Total souvenir mintage	10,000[a]
17 September	★ below defective pcs. destroyed		–30[b]
		Subtotal	9,970

Date	Type	Number of Pieces
9 March 1898	Defective coins returned	–5[c]
	Net souvenir mintage	9,965

a. Total amount of coins to be supplied under the contract.
b. A receipt dated 16 September 1897 signed by G. Markewitz indicates that "30 Souvenir coins made from first die" had been received. A photocopy of the document at the Cuban National Archives recapping the total Souvenir coinage indicates that thirty pieces were destroyed on 17 September 1897.
c. Gorham Manufacturing indicates in their letter of 9 March 1898 that they will be returning the five imperfect Cuban coins plus three pesos to make up the discrepancy and close out the 10,000 lot. We do not believe that this changes the recorded mintages, but that there was a shortage of the contracted amount of pieces delivered, and this was Gorham's way to make up for this discrepancy.

Recap of 1897 Souvenir Mintage

Company	Type	Number of Pieces
Dunn	★ below	828
Gorham	★ above	4,286
Gorham	PAT. 97.	4,856
	Subtotal	9,970
	★ below defective pcs. destroyed	–30
	Total souvenir mintage	10,000

C. Gorham Manufacturing Company, Providence, RI[a]

Unknown dates	1898 / peso	1,000 pieces

a.There is no documentary evidence that indicates where the 1898 pesos were struck, but everything points to the Gorham Manufacturing Company. In February 1898, A.J. Cobe & Co. transferred their contract with Gorham, originally dated 11 May 1897, to the "Republic of Cuba", and on 9 March 1898 Gorham confirmed to Zayas that they agreed "to make one thousand Cuban Coins in about four days from the receipt of the order".

Total 1897–98 Specimens Struck

Type	Type–Die			Mintage		Obverse/ Reverse
	Obv	Rev				
1. 1897 Liberty pattern	1A	1A		1 (estimate)		Liberty/UN PESO
2. 1897 curly hair pattern	2B	2B		1		Leonor/ STARS[1]
3. ★ below				828	8.305%	
3. ★ below	3D	2C		4,286	42.989%	
5. PAT.97.	4EFG	2CD		4,856	48.706%	
			Subtotal	9,970[b]	100%	
6. 1898 / peso	5H	1A		1,000	100%	

a. It is highly unlikely that a pattern was struck using an obverse die 2B (Leonor) with a reverse die 1A (UN PESO) since the Junta had accepted the suggestion from the patent attorneys. We only mention this possibility because history has proven to many researchers that unlikely things do happen.

b. It is impossible to ascertain the type of the "five imperfect coins" returned by Gorham during March 1898. It is also impossible to determine if the coins were destroyed in the same way the other thirty coins were destroyed in September 1897. Therefore, until further information comes to light there will be a discrepancy of five coins.

Descriptions and Differences in Obverses

1897 Obverses

Type 1 Full date 1897 below Liberty bust. Date flanked by two stars, one on left and one on right.

Die 1A LIBERTY; full 1897 date below the base of the Liberty bust.

Although possible, we believe it unlikely that a bronze pattern was struck using these dies; therefore, we must consider this possibility unconfirmed.

Type 2 Full date 1897 below curly hair bust. Date flanked by two stars, one on left and one on right.

There is only one known and confirmed bronze pattern of this type bearing obverse die 2B and reverse die 2B.

Die 2B — Obverse with full 1897 date below base of bust is very first confirmed pattern prepared for this series.

Type 3 — SOUVENIR below bust. Date split, 18 to left of bust and 97 to right of bust. The 18 is flanked by a star on left and 97 with star on right. Numerals of date are closely spaced.

Die 3C
a. Numerals of date closely spaced
b. Star in right field just below baseline of date. (★ below)
c. The 7 of 97 is close to D of LIBERTAD
d. All Rs have long right leg
e. Left upright of N in SOUVENIR wholly to right of point of neck

Die 3D
a. Numerals of date closely spaced.
b. Star in right field above baseline of date (★ above)
c. The 7 of 97 not close to D of LIBERTAD and extends below baseline of 9
d. All Rs have short right leg
e. Left stand of N in SOUVENIR in line with point of neck

Type 4 — Legend PAT.97. appears on truncation of neck in small raised capital letters. Date split and stars flank date. Numerals of date widely spaced. SOUVENIR continues below bust.

Die 4E
a. Numerals of date widely spaced
b. The 7 of 97 is very close to D of LIBERTAD and extends slightly below baseline of 9
c. Left stand of N in SOUVENIR in line with point of neck
d. P and 7 of PAT.97. both wholly inside truncation at base of neck
e. All Rs resemble a P to which a leg has been attached to form an R. All legs have same thickness throughout
f. In date, body of 1 is short and base narrow, extending more to right of body; base is thicker to left of body and thinner to right. The 7 is bold, slightly curved, and generally thin
g. In LIBERTAD, serif of right leg of A slightly below left base of D.
h. In SOUVENIR, both serifs of V slightly above U and E

Die 4F

a. Numerals of date widely spaced

b. The 7 of 97 is very close to D of LIBERTAD and extends slightly below baseline of 9

c. Left stand of N in SOUVENIR in line with point of neck

d. The P of PAT.97. rests inside the truncation at the base of the neck, while the base of the 7 rests outside the truncation

e. The Rs are similar to obverse die 3D but look much better "attached" to the imaginary P to form a much better R

f. In date, body of numeral 1 is short and base is narrow, extending more to right of body; base thicker to the left of body and thinner to right. The corner of the 7 is sharper and more detailed

g. In the word LIBERTAD, the letters AD are actually touching each other

h. In the word SOUVENIR, the letters UVE are so close that are almost touching each other

Die 4G

a. Numerals of date widely spaced

b. The 7 of 97 is very close to D of LIBERTAD and extends slightly below baseline of 9

c. Left stand of N in SOUVENIR in line with point of neck

d. The P of PAT.97. rests *outside* the truncation at base of neck; the 7 rests *totally inside* the truncation

All Rs are whole, not resembling modified P. Right leg is thicker at top, becoming thinner as it reaches bottom.

In date, 1 is much longer and more detailed; base is wider, extending more to left of body. The 7 is almost straight, *not curved,* and thinner.

g. In LIBERTAD, the serif of the right leg of A is slightly above left base of D

h. In SOUVENIR, the left serif of V is slightly below the U, while the V on its right actually touches the E at the same level.

Differences in Periods Before and After 97 in PAT.97. Obverse Dies 4E, 4F, and 4G

EMO#	Die	Period 1	Period 2
5	4E	A2	B1
6	4E	A2	B1
7	4F	B1	A2
8	4F	N/C	N/C
9	4G	A1	A2
10	4G	A1	A2

A = large period
B = small period
1 = close to T or 7
2 = away from T or 7
N/C = not confirmed

1898 Obverses

Type 5 — Full date, 1898, below bust. Date flanked by star on left and right.

Die 5H
- a. All Rs have short right leg
- b. The E in LIBERTAD shows rectangular indentation where middle horizontal bar of E meets main vertical bar
- c. The coil in hair away from I of PATRIA
- d. North point of star to left of date unfinished
- e. Sharp numerals in 1898 without visible doubling

Die 5H — Variety:

Several die doublings as follows:

- Second A of PATRIA
- Most letters of LIBERTAD
- Star to left of date
- Numerals of date 1898

Note: All 1898 silver proofs examined have obverse die 5H or its variety and they also have the same reverse die 1A.

Description and Differences in Reverses

1897 Reverses

Type 1	Cuban coat of arms in center; REPUBLICA DE CUBA above, UN PESO flanked by two stars below.
Die 1A	a. In REPUBLICA DE CUBA, the E has short base and bar is wider. Ends of C are closer to each other and have very sharply detailed serifs. C and U are slightly thinner
	b. Palm has only two coconuts and the trunk ends complete at its base
	c. A very small M is engraved close to the base of palm
	d. UN PESO appears below shield
	Note: This reverse is unconfirmed in 1897 specimens at this time; however, based on the comparison with dies 2B and 1A used on the 1898 peso, we strongly believe that a die for the 1897 UN PESO was cut and quite possibly a pattern was struck.
Type 2	Six stars at bottom of Cuban coat of arms instead of value UN PESO.
Die 2B	Identical to die 1A except with six stars below the Cuban shield.
Die 2C	Identical to die 2B except the small M does not appear engraved at base of palm.
Die 2D	a. In REPUBLIC OF CUBA, E has long base and bar is narrow; C wide open, ends far from each other, and serifs almost missing. C and U thicker
	b. Palm has four coconuts and trunk broken at base
	c. M does not appear engraved at base of palm

1898 Reverse

Type 1	Cuban coat of arms in center, REPUBLICA DE CUBA above, UN PESO below flanked by two stars.
Die 1A	a. In REPUBLICA DE CUBA, the E has short base and bar is wider. Ends of C are closer to each other and have very sharply detailed serifs. C and U are slightly thinner.
	b. The D of DE shows a protuberance similar to a dot in top left inner quadrant.
	c. Palm has only two coconuts and trunk ends complete at base.

d. A very small M is engraved close to base of palm.

e. UN PESO appears below shield.

Although there is no evidence available at this time, we are convinced the 1898 UN PESO coins were struck with the original reverse die 1A used to strike the unconfirmed 1897 UN PESO pattern.

All proof coins examined (twelve), have faint and short die lines (7 or 8) located at the bottom of the ribbon under the laurel, to the bottom right of the shield, and above the E of PESO.

Other Differences in Reverses

The engraved M placed at the base of the palm, representing the initial of the engraver, Martiny, is only found in reverse dies 1A and 2B.

KEY a. The extreme end of the key varies in relation to the earth in all types.

b. The key and the sea horizon vary in width in all types.

PALM a. The leaves of the palms are different in all types? Verify...

b. The trunk of the palm is different in all types? Verify...

Appendix 2. Documents

Los siguientes documentos fueron encontrados durante los años 50's por Roberto Pesant en el Tomo II del Inventario General del Archivo de la Delegación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano en Nueva York, 1892 (Publicación del Archivo Nacional de Cuba XLIV):

> [The following documents were found during the 1950s by Roberto Pesant in the Cuban General Archives Publication XLIV (Tomo II del Inventario General del Archivo de la Delegacion del Partido Revolucionario Cubano en Nueva York, 1892):]

Existe un documento firmado por Dn. Tomás Estrada Palma como Delegado Plenipotenciario de la República de Cuba en New York certificando que el Sr. Octavio Zayas y Adán: "... ha sido el encargado de todo lo relativo a la acuñación y venta de los pesos de plata de la República".

> [There is a signed document by Dn. Tomás Estrada Palma in his capacity as Plenipotentiary Delegate of the Republic of Cuba in New York certifying that Mr. Octavio Zayas y Adán: "... has been in charge of everything related to the minting and sale of the silver dollars of the Republic..."]

Documentos de la Delegación

Numero 1

CONTRATO

V --- (3) entre el Sr. Tomás Estrada Palma, Delegado de Cuba en los EE.UU. de A. y Mr. Andres J. Cobe para la emisión de la moneda SOUVENIR, 1897.

X --- (1) entre la Gorham Manufacturing Cy. y Mr. A. J. Cobe para la fabricación de la moneda SOUVENIR, 1897.

Numero 4

F. MONEDA
Correspondencia (43) 1897–1898
Cuentas (63) 1896–1898
Diseños (5)

Numero 93

MONEDA SOUVENIR
(12 clises y dos cunos de acero).
Tamaño: 3¾ × 3¾ centimetros (2)
Remitido al Museo Nacional, expediente 2571, legajo 76,
Secretaria del Archivo Nacional.

D.I. 1

A. J. COBE & CO.
Investment Securities
100 Broadway
New York

Mar. 12, 1897

To the Cuban Junta,
56 New St., City

Gentlemen:

We hereby beg leave to submit for your honorable consideration a proposition for the raising of money to aid in the establishment of "Cuba Libre". In presenting this to your notice at this time, we can simply give you an

outline; many details must be considered and arranged after your acceptance of the propositions.

It is a well known fact that if the Cuban government had sufficient funds at your disposal that "Cuba Libre" would be a fact in a very short time. Many enterprises have been proposed for the raising of funds, the issuance of bonds, the selling of pictures, fairs, etc. being among them. We bring to your consideration the fact that a souvenir be issued similar to the Columbian half dollar. Our plan is to make a souvenir of about the size, weight, and fineness of the Columbian half dollar. This coin should have on it the emblems of the Cuban republic, and on its face I would suggest a likeness of Maceo.

We could get up a very pretty souvenir, and we would undertake to make it a fad throughout the world. This could easily be done with your cooperation and through your agents. We believe many millions of them could be sold at a dollar apiece throughout the world.

We have not as yet got down to the actual cost of manufacturing these coins in quantities, but the other expense that would be attached to the distribution of them will be quite an item in itself, as we shall undertake to advertise them quite extensively in every city where the Junta is represented.

As to the revenue that the Junta will receive from the sale we can better determine that after you will have accorded a representative of our concern an interview.

In order to make the sale of these souvenirs a great success it will want the hearty endorsement of your government, and it must appear that the work is being carried on entirely by the Junta, and that the distribution shall come direct from your principal office and agents. This will ward off spurious souvenirs that unscrupulous manufacturers and tradesmen would be most likely to circulate for personal profit.

If you think favorable of the proposition a more detailed account will be given you in person.

Respectfully yours,
A. J. Cobe [signed]

D.I. 2

A. J. COBE & Co.
Investment Securities

100 Broadway
New York

April 17, 1897

The Cuban Junta,
56 New St., City

Gentlemen:–

As per your request, we herewith give details in reference to the "souvenir coin" which we propose circulating through your honorable body, and for the purpose of promoting the welfare of Cuba Libre.

The coin will contain more than 70/100 of an ounce of silver 900 fine, and will have the same intrinsic value as the English four shilling which we herewith enclose.

It must be thoroughly understood that the Cuban Republic are the only interested parties in the sale of these coins.

We shall undertake the expense of manufacturing the coin which will require a large investment of capital, advertising the coin and the sale throughout the world in an extensive and systematic manner, and the expense of sale, transportation and insurance. Banks handling the coin in quantity will require a discount sufficient to recompense them.

The kind of advertising that we propose to employ will be of a very high order, and we, therefore, would prefer our press notices to go through your bureau, or if you can arrange to let our press agent have a small office space together with the use of whatever literature we may require with Cuba Libre's endorsement which shall be submitted *to your approval.* We shall begin our system of advertising one week after signing papers. The money will then begin to come in and the revenue of "Cuba Libre" begins from the day. It is confidently expected that some millions of the coin will be sold, and that this source of revenue will hasten the freedom of the island.

We submit to you the following proposition as equitable and fair to both parties. The net revenue to your government shall be as follows:

On first	10,000	coins	35 cts.
" second	"	"	36 "
" third	"	"	37 "
" fourth	"	"	38 "
" fifth	"	"	39 "
" six	"	"	40 "

and all subsequent 40 cts. on each coin. The sale, coinage and finances to be under your direction. The Junta to receive all the moneys and take out their share, paying balance to us for coin, etc. An arrangement can be entered into between us whereby a settlement could be made every day.

A cheaper coin might be manufactured thereby enabling the Junta to get more than thirty five cents but as it is a foregone conclusion that Cuba's independence is now within hailing distance, *we think it would be advisable to have a coin, which shall be redeemable and as good as a currency, equal in value to any silver coin of like denomination* [emphasis added to highlight the intention to consider these coins as currency].

In conclusion, we beg to state that prices quoted above are based upon presumption that an extensive advertising and sales department will bring sales so high as to greatly increase the revenue; in other words, it is better for you to get 35 cts. each on two or three millions than 45 or 50 cts. on 100,000.

The writer will await word from you,

Very respectfully,
Andrew J. Cobe [signed]

D.I. 3 (7)[7]

A. J. COBE & Co.
Investment Securities
100 Broadway
New York

Apr. 21, 1897

O. A. Zayas
56 New Street, City

Dear Sir:–

I saw Mr. Kendall yesterday afternoon and he is unable to do the work. He claims there is nothing in it for him and I really don't think he has a proper equipment. I shall make arrangements today or tomorrow with either the Gorham Company or some other party. *Mr. Maityn*[8] *will make a design and cast* [emphasis ours] which will be submitted for your approval. He says that he will be very glad to do this work as a contribution to the cause.

I shall finish up the work and make my contracts just as soon as possible. Meanwhile I trust you will have Mr. Reubins draw up the contract with me so that we can get this settled.

Respectfully yours,
[signed]

D.I. 4 (10)

A.J. COBE & Co.
Investment Securities
100 Broadway
New York

Apr. 28, 1897

O. A. Zayas
56 New Street, City

Dear Sir:–

When I sent up to Mr. Martigny[9] this morning, he sent me back word that he had been sick and could not finish the design but he would have it for me tomorrow morning without fail. I regret exceedingly the delay, and if he does not have it tomorrow I will have to let somebody else do it. I have in the meantime practically concluded arrangements with the Gorham Company of which I will give you the details when I bring over the design.

Very respectfully yours,
[signed]

D.I. 5 (11)

A. J. COBE & Co.
Investment Securities
100 Broadway
New York

Apr. 30, 1897

O. A. Zayas
56 New Street, City

Dear Sir:–

I am unexpectedly called out of town morning, so cannot bring in the contract but will have it all ready for you Monday morning. Mr. Martigny is now working on the plaster casts, and I hope from now out we shall make considerable progress.

Respectfully yours
[signed]

D.I. 6 (12)

A. J. COBE & Co.
Investment Securities
100 Broadway
New York

Apr. 30, 1897

O. A. Zayas
56 New Street, City

Dear Sir:–

I have just received a *design of the face* [emphasis ours] of the souvenir, and it is in such shape that it cannot be rolled or sent over to you without being exposed on the street. Can't you come over here and see it at my office? I don't want to have it carted through the street, and if I put a paper around it it is apt to hurt it. Kindly send answer by the boy or come right over.

Respectfully yours,
[signed]

D.I. 7

On 10 May 1897 an agreement was entered into between Don Tomas Estrada Palma, on behalf of the Junta, and Andrew J. Cobe of the city of New York, setting the details of the striking of up to three million coins of which the first installment would consist of 10,000 pieces. The text of the contrast reads as follows:

THIS AGREEMENT made and entered into this 10th day of May, 1897, by and between ANDREW J. COBE, of the City of New York, party of the first part, and TOMAS ESTRADA PALMA, delegate plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba, party of the second part, Witnesseth, that

WHEREAS, party of the second part is about to issue a souvenir silver coin of the face value of one peso which will be exchanged by the Republic of Cuba for its coin of similar value on the evacuation of the Island of Cuba by the Spanish forces, and

WHEREAS, the party of the first part is desirous of undertaking the coinage of said coins and all expenses connected with the sale thereof,

NOW, WHEREFORE, in consideration of the premises and of one dollar lawful money of the United States paid to each party by the other, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, it is hereby mutually understood and agreed

FIRST: That the party of the first part is to furnish to the party of the second part said souvenir coins: the first installment to consist of not less than 10,000, and to be delivered within sixty days from date of this contract; the design to be approved of by the party of the second part and the weight thereof to be 348 grains, and the fineness to be .900, and the size to be about the same as four shilling piece minted by the British government.

SECOND: The minting is to be done under the inspection and supervision of two persons: one to be named by the party of the first part, and one to be named by the party of the second part, the representative named by the party of the second part shall have control of the die which shall at all times be under seal when not in actual use. All coins minted shall be turned over to the representatives of the parties hereto to be deposited by them in a place to be agreed upon by the parties hereto.

THIRD: The party of the first part shall pay for an office to be established at the headquarters of the party of the second part, the rent not to exceed twenty-five dollars per month, and shall appoint a person who jointly with the representative of the party of the second part, shall keep an account of all sales or orders of said coins, and daily settlements in cash shall be made by the parties hereto, the party of the second part reserving the amount hereinafter stipulated and turning over the balance of the amount of sales to the party of the first part.

FOURTH: The party of the first part shall pay all expenses of whatsoever kind or nature arising out of the coining and sale of these coins, including the cost of design and making of the die, the silver and alloy necessary to the minting as well as the cost of minting, transportation, insurance and storage, office rent and furniture as well as any employees or agents which he may deem it necessary to appoint, excepting the representative of the party of the second part; all cost of printing, advertising and correspondence by letter or telegram as well as any disbursement, ordinary or extraordinary, which may be necessary, so that the net amount reserved to the party of the second part shall be thirty-seven and one-half cents on every coin sold.

FIFTH: The nature of the advertising and press notices and literature

shall be subject to the supervision and approval of the party of the second part.

SIXTH: It is understood and agreed that the number of coins to be minted under this agreement is to be limited to three million: the party of the second part agreeing that if any further coinage shall be undertaken the party of the first part shall have the preference on equal terms. to any other bidder, this contract and this privilege shall cease upon the signing of a treaty of peace between the Republic of Cuba and the Government of Spain.

SEVENTH: It is expressly understood and agreed that on any violation of this contract by the party of the first part or if for any cause this shall be terminated, the coins remaining shall be melted under the inspection of the party of the second part who need not, however, destroy the die; the molten metal to be the property of the party of the first part. The die to be turned over the party of the second part upon the following conditions: If only twenty-five thousand (25,000) shall be struck then the die or dies are to be turned over to the party of the second part after paying therefore the sum of five hundred dollars ($500): if fifty thousand (50,000) only shall be struck they shall pay the sum of two hundred fifty dollars ($250); if one hundred thousand (100,000) shall be struck then the die or dies are to be turned over without any charge therefore, or may be destroyed in the presence of both parties. The party of the first part shall pay all bills contracted by him and the party of the second part shall assume no responsibility nor have any charge or charges made against him for anything connected with coinage and sale of these coins, and the party of the first part shall give the party of the second part a bond in the form of a guarantee, said bond to be to the satisfaction of the party of the second part, to be in the sum of five thousand dollars ($5,000), to keep and save harmless the party of the second part from payment of any or all bills or expenses contracted by the party of the first part in carrying out this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

Witness
Frank H. Leonard [?]

Andrew J. Cobe [seal]
Tomas Estrada Palma [seal]

Note: On Page 2 of the contract, in the margin, there is an amendment by hand that reads:

In the event of less than 10,000 souvenir coins being struck and the party of the second part not caring to purchase the die or dies; the same shall be destroyed in the presence of both parties.

Andrew J. Cobe (signed)

D.I. 8 (14)

A. J. COBE & Co.
Investment Securities
100 Broadway
New York

May 11, 1897

O. A. Zayas
56 New Street, City

Dear Sir:–

Mr. Martigny just telephoned that the *two models* [emphasis ours] are complete. If possible, will you go up there at the very earliest moment and pass on them. I have just returned this morning and am about to sign my contract this afternoon with the Gorham Company. I will be in to see you just as soon as I get over this rush. Kindly send word by bearer just what time you will visit Mr. Martigny's studio so I can telephone him and have him there.

Very respectfully yours,
[signed]

D.I. 9

On 11 May 1897 a contract was signed between A.J. Cobe & Co., Investment Securities, 100 Broadway, New York, and The Gorham Manufacturing Company, Providence, Rhode Island, setting forth the terms and conditions for the striking of the souvenir coins.

This contract made and entered into this 11th day of May 1897, by and between the GORHAM MANUFACTURING COMPANY, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Rhode Island and authorized to do business in the State of New York, party of the first part, and A.J. COBE & COMPANY, a firm for the purpose of this agreement comprised of A.J.

COBE and G.J. MARKEWITZ of the City of New York, parties of the second part, duly witnesseth:

WHEREAS: the parties of the second part have a contract to mint souvenir coins for the CUBAN JUNTA, and

WHEREAS: the parties of the second part desire that such coinage shall be done by the party of the first part:

NOW THEREFORE, in consideration of One Dollar and other valuable considerations, receipt of which is hereby acknowledged from each party to the other, it is hereby mutually agreed as follows:

FIRST: The party of the first part will make as its own cost the proper dies from which the souvenir coins shall be struck; the dies to be made from designs submitted by the parties of the second part. The weight of each coin to be fourteen and five-tenths (14 5/10) penny-weights to the coin, and equal to three hundred and forty-eight (348) grains of silver of the fineness of nine hundred one-thousandths (.900) and the size to be about the same as the four shilling piece minted by the British Government.

The first installment to consist of ten thousand (10,000) coins and to be delivered within sixty days from the date of this contract.

SECOND: The minting is to be done under the inspection and supervision of two persons, one to be named by the party of the second part. The representative named by the party of the second part shall have control of the die which shall at all times be under seal when not in actual use. All coins minted shall be turned over to the representatives of the parties hereto to be deposited by them in a place to be agreed upon by the parties hereto.

THIRD: It is understood and agreed that the number of coins to be minted under this agreement is to be limited to three millions, the party of the second part agreeing that if any further coinage beyond the three millions (3,000,000) shall be undertaken, the party of the first part shall have the preference on equal terms to any other bidder.

FOURTH: It is understood and agreed that until the full number of three millions of coins are struck, the dies are to remain with the party of the first part, subject however to this provision: in case this contract shall be terminated for any cause at any time prior to the striking of that number of souvenir coins, then the dies are to be turned over to the party of the second part upon the following conditions: if only twenty-five thousand (25,000) shall be struck, then the dies are to be turned over to the party of the second part, they paying therefor the sum of Five hundred ($500.) Dollars; if fifty thousand (50,000) only shall be struck, they shall pay the sum of Two hundred and fifty ($250.) Dollars; if one hundred thousand (100,000) shall

be struck, then and in that case, the dies are to be turned over without any charge therefor and to be destroyed in the presence of both parties hereto.

FIFTH: It is understood and agreed that orders for these souvenir coins shall follow as fast as the coins can be disposed of by the parties of the second part, and the payment for each lot of coins or each part of a lot of coins, shall be made to the party of the first part upon their rendering a certificate duly certified by both parties, upon the delivery of said coins to them. In case shipments of any of the coins shall be made by express or otherwise for their account, then payments shall be made by certificate as above before the shipment of the said coins.

SIXTH: The parties of the second part hereby agree to pay to the party of the first part at the time before mentioned, the sum of forty-nine and 35/100 (49 35/100) cents for each souvenir coin so delivered. This price is based upon fine silver being sixty-one (61) cents per ounce.

Should the price of fine silver change from sixty-one (61) cents, a corresponding addition for the silver used shall be made to the price above mentioned if silver advances, and corresponding reduction shall be made if silver declines from that price.

SEVENTH: It is also agreed and understood that the price for each lot shall be determinated when the order shall be given and accepted.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have set their hands and seals this day and date first above mentioned.

Gorham Mfg. Co. [seal]
Edmund Holbrook [?] [seal]
President

Andrew J. Cobe [seal]
Gustavus J. Markewitz [seal]

There is a hand amendment that reads as follows:

We hereby give our consent to the substitution of the Republic of Cuba in our name instead in the above contract it being understood however that the payments for the dies stipulated in article fourth of said contract remains my obligation to the Gorham Co. and are not to be assumed by the Republic of Cuba.

Dated New York, February 1898[10]

Andrew J. Cobe [seal]
Gustavus J. Markewitz [seal]

D.I. 10

JEROME CARTY
Attorney and Counsellor
Patents and Trade Mark Causes
Corporations
100 Broadway, New York
919 Chesnut St., Phila.

Philadelphia, May 28, 1897

A.J. Cobe, Esq.
#100 Broadway, New York

Dear Sir:

Further confirming my mission to Washington on your behalf in regard to the proposed issue of the Cuban souvenir, and after a long and careful interview with Mr. Palmi and Mr. Quesada, and also after another examination of the imitation of coins and medals pressed by The Treasury department, I do not hesitate to confirm the opinion heretofore expressed to you verbally, that the souvenir proposed to be issued, and *shown to me in New York in plaster* [emphasis ours], comes directly within the provisions of Section 5461 of the Revised Statutes of the United States. I regard the souvenir referred to as a coin issued by people having no authority whatever to coin money for circulation. The test in this regard is not the intention of the people issuing it, but the effect which would be produced on the community handling the subject matter without any prior opinion in regard thereto, and mere private agreements and publicity in the newspapers, would not be regarded in any manner whatever. The Statutes of the United States cover this proposition very broadly in two ways:

First, making or having in one's possession a die, hub or mould to produce a coin or souvenir, in any coin or medal which so resembles a coin of the United States or Foreign country as to mislead and deceive the unwary, and I am furthermore of the opinion that *the obverse of the coin* [emphasis ours] referred to with the *head of a woman representing the "Goddess of Liberty"* [emphasis ours] or otherwise would be held to be such a resemblance to the coins of the United States as to induce the Treasury department to suppress its issue. Second, to utter or cause to be uttered or issued any such coin or medal which so closely resembles the coin of the United States or Foreign country would raise a prima facie presumption of the intention to defraud.

I think Messrs. Palmi and Quesada both agree with me that *the words "Un Peso" and the head of the woman should be eliminated and the words "Cuba Libre" souvenir added* [emphasis ours]. The department in Washington is fully aware what is going on as I ascertained yesterday from the Assistant Chief McWilliam, and now that the intention is to reform the existing model entirely and no intention to issue it there would be no harm in submitting the plaster cast to the department for inspection in order to realize what a great mistake would have been made.

As to whether it is desirable to submit the model of the souvenir is a question which ought to receive further consideration. Mr. Palmi is exceedingly anxious that nothing shall be done to hurt the Cuban cause or place them into a position to become the target to their enemies, on the ground that they are so greatly in need of funds as to resort to a questionable method for obtaining them. It furthermore transpired during the conversation that Mr. Palmi in order to obtain and hold exclusive right to issue a coin for the prospective Republic of Cuba, and to cover the Cuba model, he desires to have *design patents taken on both the present design and that which will be decided upon as the souvenir* [emphasis ours].

I expect to be in New York next Tuesday afternoon, and expect to leave for the West to be gone ten days the latter part of next week, therefore, if any further consultation is desired please arrange the same for Tuesday afternoon.

Yours truly,
Jerome Carty [signed]

D.I. 11

This extremely important letter was sent to both Estrada Palma and Cobe; it is signed by Carty and Cook. That it was addressed to Estrada Palma and not to Zayas underscores the importance of its contents:

JEROME CARTY
100 Broadway

New York, June 1st, 1897

Señor Tomas Estrada Palma, and
Andrew J. Cobe Esq.

Dear Sirs:–

After giving the matter careful consideration, we are prepared to advise the

execution by you of the agreement dated the 10th day of May, 1897 herewith.

We suggest that *the design of the proposed souvenir be changed* [emphasis ours] as follows: Remove the words "un peso" and substitute five stars in place thereof, and on the other face of the souvenir, the liberty cap and tobacco wreath to be removed from the head and the natural curly hair substituted therefor and the word "souvenir" inserted between the two stars in the circle at the bottom with the figures 18 on the left hand side and 97 on the right hand side of the neck.

These changes having been made we believe such a souvenir would not conflict with the Statutes of the United States.

As to the attitude of the Treasury Department upon a matter of this kind, we are, of course, unable in advance to express an opinion, but we think that the issuance of a souvenir as described would not be in conflict with the Statutes of the United States.

Very carefully yours,
Jerome Carty [signed]
John W. Cook [signed]

D.I. 12

Ramón Navarro, on-site inspector and representative for the Junta, wrote to Zayas:

ST. ELMO HOTEL
317-319 Arch Street
Philadelphia

Julio 7, 1897

Sr. Jose Zayas
New York

Estimado amigo:

Cumpliendo sus disposiciones llegue a esta esta mañana y vi al Sr. Bogle. Nada se ha hecho hoy porque la maquina no esta lista.

Me asegura ese señor que mañana (8) a las 9 a.m. y en mi presencia se estamparan 2,500 Souvenirs de que cuya operacion extendere un Certificado. Si se cumple lo ofrecido mañana en la tarde estare en esa. Sin mas me despido s.s. y amigo

R. Navarro

Translation:

July 7, 1897

Dear friend:

In accordance with your instructions I arrived this morning to this city and saw Mr. Bogle. Nothing has been done today because the equipment is not ready.

I am assured by this gentleman that tomorrow (8) at 9 a.m. and in my presence 2,500 Souvenirs will be struck and I shall issue a Certificate of that operation. If the offer is fulfilled tomorrow in the afternoon I shall be there. Without anything further

D.I. 13

On 10 July, Zayas received the first lot of coins struck, probably hand-delivered by Navarro. After examining them he wrote Cobe as follows:

REPUBLIC OF CUBA
Cuban Delegation
Financial Bureau "Souvenir"

New York, July 10, 1897

Mr. A. J. Cobe
N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Noticing the new souvenir that was sent to us by the Gorham Mfg. Co. I beg to make the following observations in reference to same.

The head is too high, if you notice after rubbing two together the cheek appears scratched. On the side where the shield appears the six stars are not pronounced enough. Some of the coins are twisted, and the edges are very poor. In fact the whole souvenir appears very crude and botchy. I only accept *the first lot*[11] [emphasis ours] with the understanding that the next will be much better, and cleaner in appearance.

Yours sincerely,
Jose Zayas

D.I. 14

The first evidence of the actual striking of silver coins comes from a letter

Figure 10. Photograph of Leonor Molina.

by Navarro to Zayas dated 15 July. There seems to be an inconsistency—Navarro indicates that these are the first silver coins struck; however, the "first lot" that Zayas accepted on 10 July must have been only silver coins and not bronze trial pieces because otherwise they would not have needed his "acceptance".

THE DUNN AIR-BRAKE COMPANY
S.E. Cor. 19th and Spring Garden Streets
Philadelphia

Julio 15, 1897

Sr. Jose Zayas
New York

Estimado amigo:

Recibi su telegrama a las 4 p.m. que conteste enseguida diciendo: "Ready to stamp will have souvenirs tomorrow"

Ya tengo en mi poder y en sobre separado *los tres primeros pesos de plata acuñados* [emphasis ours]. Mañana se haran muchos y avisare.

Queda s.s.
R. Navarro

Translation:

July 15, 1897

Dear Friend:

I received your telegram at 4 p.m. to which I promptly replied saying: "Ready to stamp will have souvenirs tomorrow"

I already have in my possession and in a separate envelope, *the first three silver pesos struck* [emphasis ours].

Tomorrow many will be made and I shall advise.

Yours truly,
R. Navarro

D.I. 15

On the following day, 16 July, Navarro wrote again to Zayas on Dunn's letterhead:

THE DUNN AIR-BRAKE COMPANY
S.E. Cor. 19th and Spring Garden Streets
Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Julio 16, 1897

Sr. Jose Zayas
New York

Estimado amigo:

Inclusa encontrara relacion de los pesos Souvenir acunados hoy. Mr. Bogle envia esta noche 178 que con los tres primeros que yo tengo en mi poder para llevarle hacen 181. Mañana habrá muchos mas. Esta tarde han llegado de Providence cinco cajas conteniendo plata.

Los pesos estan bonitos y aceptables segun dicen los inteligentes y entre ellos el Jefe del Departamento de acunacion en la Casa de Monedas de esta ciudad.

El reporte va firmado por mi solo porque aqui no hay representante de Mr. Cobe (que yo he visto).

Queda de Vd. s.s.
R. Navarro

P.D. En el número anterior están incluídos los primeros tres dolares con los cuales me quedé.

Translation:

Philadelphia, July 16, 1897

Dear friend:

Enclosed you will find details of the Souvenir dollars struck today. Mr. Bogle will send tonight 178 which added to the first three I have in my possession to take to you make 181. There will be many more tomorrow. This afternoon five boxes have arrived from Providence containing silver.

The dollars are pretty and acceptable according to the people that know, among them the Chief of the Minting Department of the U.S. Mint in this city.

The report is signed only by me because there is no representative of Mr. Cobe here (that I have seen).

Yours truly,
R. Navarro

P.S. In the above number are included the first three dollars which I kept.

D.I. 16

The receipts of the first coins struck are as follows:

THE DUNN AIR BRAKE COMPANY
S.E. Cor. 19th and Spring Garden Streets
Philadelphia

1st Day	July 16, 1897 No. of *Silver Dollars*[12] [emphasis ours] (Souvenirs) stamped today	–181
2nd Day	July 17	–383
3rd Day	July 18	–288

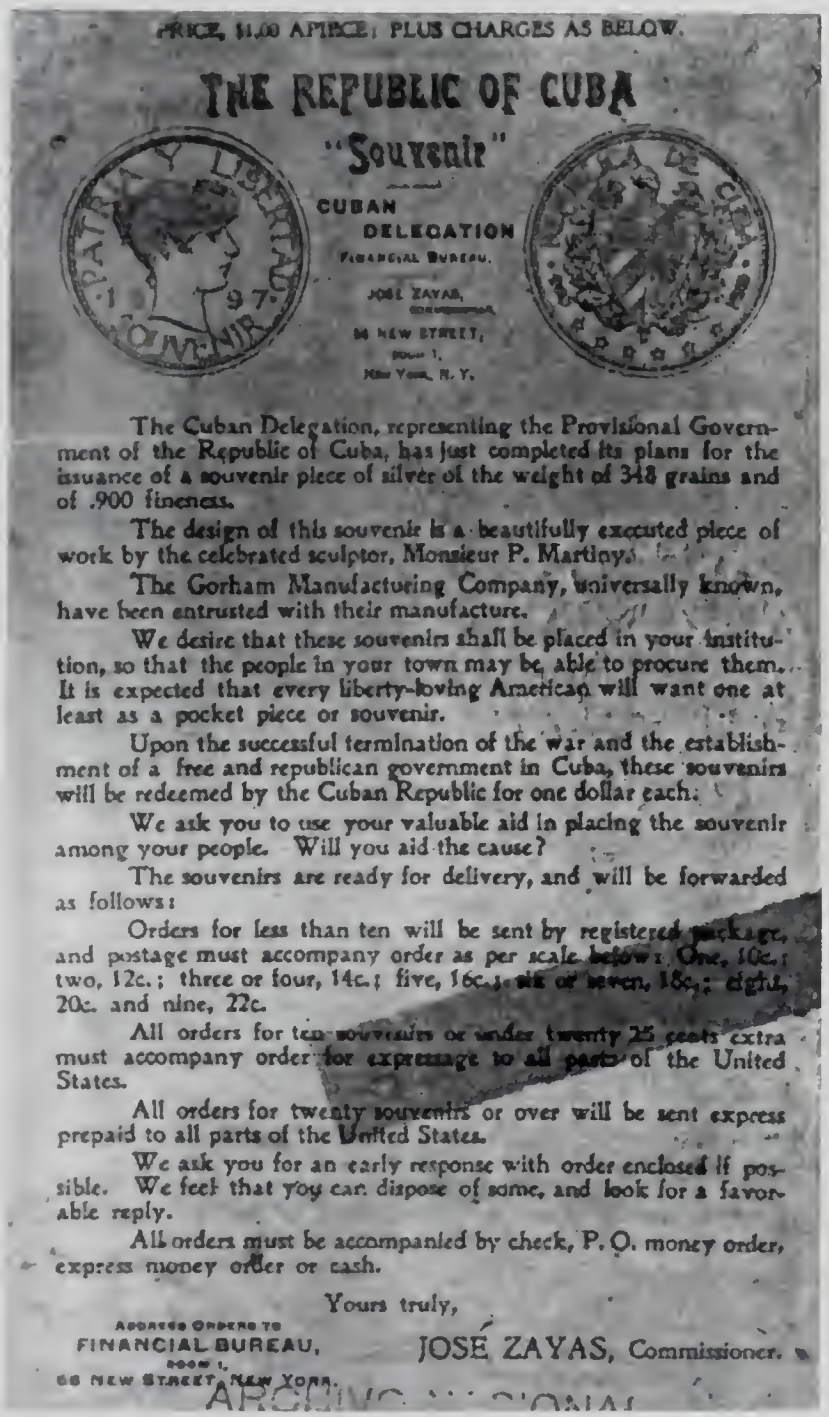
Witness – Ramon Navarro [signed]

D.I. 17

Statement of the "Souvenirs" made in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (see also two advertisements for the souvenir coins, Figure 11A and B):

July 16, 1897	181
17	383
18	288

Philadelphia July 19, 1897



PRICE, $1.00 APIECE; PLUS CHARGES AS BELOW.

THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

"Souvenir"

CUBAN DELEGATION

FINANCIAL BUREAU.

JOSÉ ZAYAS, COMMISSIONER,

66 NEW STREET, ROOM 1, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Cuban Delegation, representing the Provisional Government of the Republic of Cuba, has just completed its plans for the issuance of a souvenir piece of silver of the weight of 348 grains and of .900 fineness.

The design of this souvenir is a beautifully executed piece of work by the celebrated sculptor, Monsieur P. Martinys.

The Gorham Manufacturing Company, universally known, have been entrusted with their manufacture.

We desire that these souvenirs shall be placed in your institution, so that the people in your town may be able to procure them. It is expected that every liberty-loving American will want one at least as a pocket piece or souvenir.

Upon the successful termination of the war and the establishment of a free and republican government in Cuba, these souvenirs will be redeemed by the Cuban Republic for one dollar each.

We ask you to use your valuable aid in placing the souvenir among your people. Will you aid the cause?

The souvenirs are ready for delivery, and will be forwarded as follows:

Orders for less than ten will be sent by registered package, and postage must accompany order as per scale below: One, 10c.; two, 12c.; three or four, 14c.; five, 16c.; six or seven, 18c.; eight, 20c. and nine, 22c.

All orders for ten souvenirs or under twenty 25 cents extra must accompany order for expressage to all parts of the United States.

All orders for twenty souvenirs or over will be sent express prepaid to all parts of the United States.

We ask you for an early response with order enclosed if possible. We feel that you can dispose of some, and look for a favorable reply.

All orders must be accompanied by check, P. O. money order, express money order or cash.

Yours truly,

JOSÉ ZAYAS, Commissioner.

ADDRESS ORDERS TO
FINANCIAL BUREAU,
ROOM 1,
66 NEW STREET, NEW YORK.

Figure 11A.

Ramon Navarro [signed]
Representative of the
Rev. Cuban Council

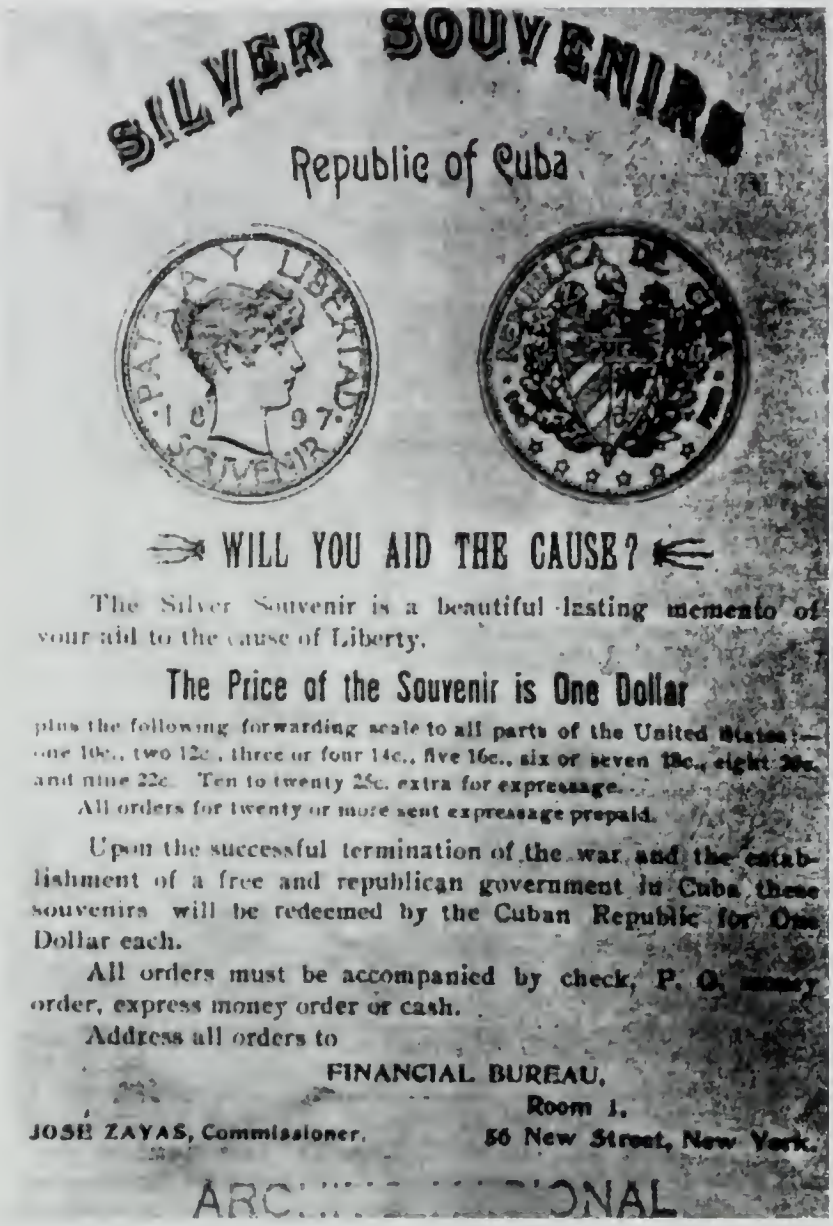

SILVER SOUVENIR
Republic of Cuba
WILL YOU AID THE CAUSE?
The Silver Souvenir is a beautiful lasting memento of your aid to the cause of Liberty.
The Price of the Souvenir is One Dollar
plus the following forwarding scale to all parts of the United States:—one 10c., two 12c., three or four 14c., five 16c., six or seven 18c., eight 20c. and nine 22c. Ten to twenty 25c. extra for expressage.
All orders for twenty or more sent expressage prepaid.
Upon the successful termination of the war and the establishment of a free and republican government in Cuba these souvenirs will be redeemed by the Cuban Republic for One Dollar each.
All orders must be accompanied by check, P. O. money order, express money order or cash.
Address all orders to
FINANCIAL BUREAU,
Room 1.
JOSE ZAYAS, Commissioner. 56 New Street, New York.

Figure 11B.

D.I. 18

On 28 July, exactly 10 days after the first striking had ended because the original dies had broken, John M. Bogle (Gorham) wrote to Gustavus J. Markewitz.

GORHAM MFG. CO.
Silversmiths

Order No. A 76
Providence, R. I., July 28, 1897

Mr. G. J. Markewitz
#100 Broadway, New York

Dear Sir:

Yours of the 27th inst. is received. Your letter I placed in Mr. Robinson's[13] hands this morning for his opinion and advice *regarding the whole matter pertaining to placing "PAT.97" on the coin* [emphasis ours], patent papers, etc.. He says he would not mark the coin and that the design could be so fully protected by copywright and the necessary papers must be made by the designer and he can assign them to whoever it may be desired. This being the case it would not be proper to mark the coin pieces as you suggest. On this matter I fully agree with Mr. Robinson.

After you have considered this phase of the question will you please telegraph or telephone your decision so that no time may be lost on the work. *The machinery has arrived and is set up in running order* [emphasis ours]. If all things go well we may be able to commence coining Tuesday of next week. On this matter will let you know later. I am

Sincerely yours,
John M. Bogle [signed]

D.I. 19

On 3 August the second group of souvenir coins were struck. The receipt reads as follows:

Providence, R. I., August 3, 1897

Number of Souvenirs stamped today 4,287[14]

Ramon Navarro (signed)
G.J. Markewitz (signed)

D.I. 20

Providence, R. I. Agosto 3, 1897

Sr. Octavio Zayas
N.Y.

Estimado amigo:

Inclusa encontrara relacion de 4,287 "Souvenirs"[15] acunados esta mañana. Ahora se suspende la acunacion por una semana porque los cunos se rompieron otra vez y no hay de repuesto. Dice Mr. Bogle que se necesitan 7 u 8 dias para hacerlos nuevos.

No me voy porque como Ud. me dijo que atendiera con Mr. Markewitz a las ordenes, no se que hacer y espero que Ud. determine.

Mr. Markewitz no acepta el que yo le de orden de entregarle a el los Souvenirs que necesite para cumplimentar los pedidos, quiere que yo firme unos impresos que tiene como el que le incluyo; diga que hago.

Sin mas, ordene a su
affmo amigo
Ramon Navarro [signed]

Translation:

Providence, R. I., August 3, 1897

Dear friend:

Enclosed you will find details of 4,287 "Souvenirs" struck this morning. The minting has been suspended for one week because the dies broke again and there are no replacements. Mr. Bogle says that 7 or 8 days are required to make new ones.

I am not leaving because you told me to take care of the orders with Mr. Markewitz, but I don't know what to do and await your instructions.

Mr. Markewitz does not accept my instructions to deliver to him the Souvenirs required to fill the orders; he wants me to sign some forms which he has and which I enclose: tell me what to do.

Without anything further,
Ramon Navarro [signed]

D.I. 21

The next day, 4 August, Navarro wrote again to Zayas:

Providence, R. I., Agosto 4, 1897

Sr. Octavio Zayas
N.Y.

Estimado amigo:

Ayer despues de poner mi carta para Vd en el correo, recibi su telegrama.

No son las ordenes iguales a la que Ud. me dio en esa, las que rehuso aceptar, ni tampoco ninguna otra clase de ordenes. Fue Mr. Markewitz quien no quiso aceptar que yo, por instrucciones de Ud., diera diariamente a la Gorham Mfg. Co. una orden por el total de Souvenirs, que necesitara Mr. Markewitz para cumplimentar los pedidos que recibiera.

Como Ud. vera por el blank que le inclui ayer, esa no es orden, es solamente una nota que pasa la Gorham Mfg. Co. a Mr. Markewitz haciendole saber el numero de Souvenirs acunados y en cierto modo poniendolos a su disposicion. Eso es, dicen aqui, el tramite que tienen que seguir, pues la Gorham Mfg. Co. solo conoce a Mr. Cobe y su compañia o sociedad y nada tienen que ver con la Junta.

He dicho a Mr. Markewitz que yo firmare junto con el todas las ordenes que vengan de Ud. iguales a las que yo traje, y de estas llevare un registro con el numero, fecha, cantidad, destinatario y lugar adonde va. Todo esto lo hago para salvar mi responsibilidad, por lo demas seguire contando Souvenirs hasta que Ud. disponga y cuando los haya.

Sin otra cosa por hoy queda de Ud.

Afmo. amigo
Ramon Navarro [signed]

P.D. Acuso recibo de su apreciable de ayer.

Translation:

Providence, R. I., August 4, 1897

Dear friend:

Yesterday after mailing my letter to you in the post office, I received your telegram.

The orders which you gave me in that city are not the ones I refused to accept, nor any other type of order. It was Mr. Markewitz who did not accept that I, following your instructions, gave daily orders to the Gorham Mfg. Co. for the total of Souvenirs that Mr. Markewitz needed to fulfill the orders received.

As you will see by the "blank" which I sent yesterday, that is not an order, it is only a note that Gorham Mfg. Co. passes to Mr. Markewitz to notify him of the amount of Souvenirs minted and in a certain way placing them

at his disposal. That is, so they say here, the procedure that they must follow, since the Gorham Mfg. Co. only recognizes Mr. Cobe and his company or society and nothing that has to do with the Junta.

I have told Mr. Markewitz that I shall sign with him all orders which come from you which are equal to the ones I brought, and of which I shall keep a register with the number, date, quantity, consignee and place of destination.

I do all this to save my responsibility; I shall continue counting Souvenirs until you instruct otherwise and when there are any.

Without anything further today, I am

Yours truly,

P.S. I acknowledge receipt of your kind (letter) of yesterday.

D.I. 22

The following is one of the last letters in the Archives, dated 10 August, also from Navarro to Zayas:

Providence, R. I., Agosto 10, 1897

Sr. Octavio Zayas
N.Y.

Estimado amigo:

Recibi tu telegrama ayer cerca de las 5 no dandome tiempo para tomar el vapor ni tampoco el tren de las 5, asi es que tuve que venir en el tren de media noche, pagando $1.50 extra por un berth para dormir. Sin embargo de esa prisa hoy no se ha hecho nada pues los cunos no estan listos; se cree que de mañana a pasado estaran concluidos.

No me voy porque nada gana la patria con ello, pues tres dias son los que ahorraria en salario pero habria que gastar en trenes y vale mas que lo gane yo que la compañia de ferro-carril. Si se tardase mas me iria.

Sin otra cosa se despide

S.S. y amigo
Ramon Navarro

Translation:

Providence, R. I., August 10, 1897

Dear friend:

I received your telegram yesterday about 5:00, which gave me no time to catch the boat nor the 5:00 train, so I had to come on the midnight train, paying an extra $1.50 for the sleeping berth. Despite this rush nothing has been done today because the dies are not ready; it is believed they will be finished tomorrow or the day after.

I will not leave because the fatherland will not gain anything, since the savings would amount to three days in salary but there would be the train expenses and I feel it is much better that I earn it than the railroad company. If it would take longer I would leave.

Without anything further I am

Your servant and friend,

D.I. 23

On 20 August, the third and final group of souvenir coins were struck. These were the PAT.97. type. The receipt reads:

Providence, R. I., August 20, 1897

Number of Souvenirs stamped today 4,856

Ramon Navarro [signed]

D.I. 24

The following is a transcript of the receipt dated 16 September given to the Junta for the thirty defective souvenir coins. For a photograph of the certificate of the total pieces struck, see Figure 12:

Cuban Delegation
Financial Bureau
Jose Zayas
Commisioner
56 New Street
Room 1
New York, N. Y.

New York, Sep. 16, 1897

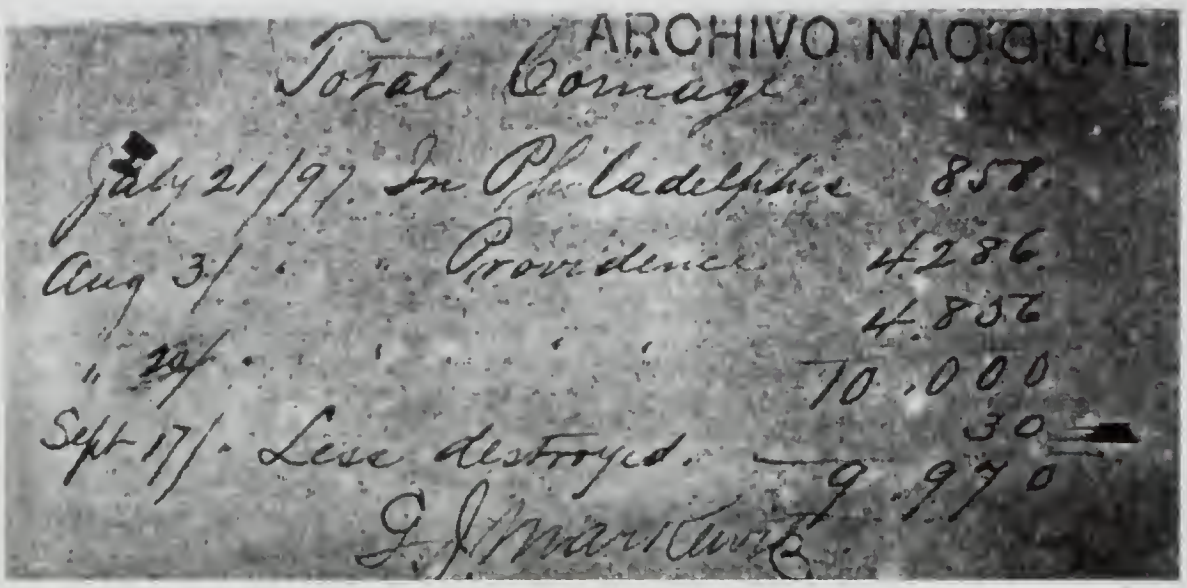


Figure 12. Certificate of total souvenir pieces struck, signed by G. J. Markewitz.

Received from office, Room 1, 56 New Street, 30 Souvenir *coins made from first die* [emphasis ours].

G. Markewitz [signed]

D.I. 24B.

Photocopy of the Certificate of Total Souvenir Pieces Struck duly signed by G.J. Markewitz.

D.I. 25

In a letter dated 9 March 1898 Gorham advises Mr. Zayas:

Gorham Mfg. Co.
Silversmiths

New York, March 9th 1898

Mr. O. A. Zayas
56 New Street,
N.Y.

Dear Sir:

We did not get the information from our factory complete in time to send it down to you today, so we write you the result in letter.

The factory informs us that they will agree to make one thousand Cuban Coins in about four days from the receipt of the order. The price today for one thousand coins will be at the rate of forty eight cents each. If ten thousand are ordered they will be at the rate of 46½ cents each. This price would not hold good for tomorrow if the price of fine silver should change.

The factory also informs us that they will send us tonight the five imperfect Cuban coins, and the three dollars for the remaining three, which makes up the discrepancy of the eight, and closes the ten thousand lot.

Yours very truly,
[signed, but illegible]

Notes

1. Don Tomás Estrada Palma later became the first elected president of a free Republic of Cuba, ascending to office on 20 May 1902.
2. Mr. José Zayas is also known as José Octavio Zayas y Adán and was the cousin of Leonor Molina, the Cuban lady whose effigy adorns the souvenir.
3. In 1889, Martiny and Saint-Gaudens designed the medal for the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States.
4. Handwritten by Zayas on the first draft: "First design of the coin".
5. D.I. refers to documents from the insurgency period. These documents can be found in Appendix 2.
6. Don Tomas Estrada Palma is referred to here as "Palmi".
7. The number in parentheses corresponds to the number given to the document by the Cuban National Archives, Correspondence Section.
8. It is interesting to see the incorrect spelling of both names, first "Maityn" for Martiny, and later "Reubins" for H. Rubens.
9. The spelling "Martigny" is incorrect; it should be "Martiny". Because of this error, this mistake appears in all other correspondence as well as the article published the same year in the *American Journal of Numismatics.*
10. This hand amendment gives full control to the Junta over the 1898 specimens to be issued, and it is almost a foregone conclusion that Gorham Co. also struck these coins.
11. There is no indication of the quantity of coins delivered to Zayas, but we speculate that there were six in all, which would explain the shortage of six pieces in the final count.
12. The reference to "Silver Dollars" stamped is only another ratification that these coins were not considered medals by the Junta.
13. We believe Robinson to have been the legal counsel for Gorham, but this has not been corroborated.
14. There is an unexplained discrepancy of one piece between the receipt signed above and the certificate of total souvenir pieces struck (Fig. 12).

15. There is a discrepancy of one piece between this letter and the certificate of total souvenir pieces struck (Fig. 12).